Romanism

In the [illegible]story

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By the Same Author

Christ and Modern Unbelief

Present-Day Problems of Christian Thought

Gospel in the Christian Year

Problem of the Pentateuch

A Soldier's Recollections

Romanism in the Light of History

By

Randolph H. McKim, D.C.L.

Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C.

"We have a Dictator before whom we must prostrate ourselves, and be silent, and bow our heads. This Dictator is History."

Ἡ μία καὶ μόνη ἀληθῶς Κεφαλή ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς—S. BASIL.

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To

THE MEMORY OF

MY REVERED FRIEND AND TEACHER

WILLIAM SPARROW

PREFACE

THE history and purpose of the following essays may be briefly stated:

When the famous encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on *The Reunion of Christendom* was republished in the American press, it seemed fitting, as well as respectful, that Protestants should make some acknowledgment of such an appeal.

Summoned by the kindly voice of the illustrious head of the Roman Church to restore unity to Christendom by submission to the sovereign spiritual authority of the Roman Pontiff, and invited to make this submission in the name of Holy Scripture, and of the ancient Fathers of the Church, I ventured to answer in an Open Letter, citing the Holy Father himself to appear at the bar of history, and justify the tremendous claim which he makes upon our consciences.

The second essay in this volume is an attempt to exhibit, in a brief space, the verdict of history (which is neither Roman Catholic nor Anglican) upon all the essential points of doctrine and jurisdiction contained in the said encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on Christian unity. My letter bore date, Feast of the Annunciation, 1897.

The third essay, on the "Fundamental Prin-

ciples of Protestantism," contains the substance of three lectures, delivered in the city of New York in my parish church, in the year 1879, in reply to a lecture delivered in St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church, New York, on the *Results of the Protestant Reformation*, by the very Rev. Thomas S. Preston, V.G., and subsequently published by Robert Coddington, New York.

The pamphlet to which these lectures is a reply may be taken as a fair specimen of the Roman Catholic argument. The then Pope, though esteemed a liberal man, urged against Protestantism, in one of his encyclicals, some of the same accusations, and Mr. Mallock's articles in the Nineteenth Century, at the same period, took up some of the same points.

The fourth essay is a reprint of certain Open Letters, published in the autumn of 1908, which were occasioned by a sermon in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Westminster, London, by Cardinal Gibbons, claiming for the Roman Catholic Church in America the honor of being the first to establish religious liberty in the New World.

I have given in an introductory essay some account of the enormous losses sustained by the Roman Catholic Church in the different countries of Europe since the promulgation of the dogma of papal infallibility in 1870, and also an estimate of the present condition and prospects of that Church in the United States.

R. H. McK.

April 15, 1914.

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The Present Outlook for Romanism

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The Present Outlook for Romanism

TWO considerations have influenced my decision to republish the material contained in this volume. The first is the fact that in the prosecution of its avowed purpose "to make America Catholic," the Church of Rome is displaying at the present time a boldness and aggressiveness greater than ever before in her history in our country. She is forcing the fighting. Never have her claims been so arrogant. Never has she so openly set at defiance the public opinion of this Protestant land, and never so openly avowed those Papal principles which are subversive of personal liberty and free government.

The other fact is that there is an unmistakable and widespread awakening among American citizens to the peril involved in the growing power, especially the political power, of the Roman hierarchy.

As an evidence of this, I may cite the fact that my address on "Why We Are Protestants," published in the February number of the *Protestant Magazine*, has reached a circulation of over eighty thousand copies in less than two months.

These conditions demand a calm and careful consideration of the claims of the Church of Rome in the light of history—without passion, and without exaggeration. And it is because I am desirous to make some small contribution to this necessary study of this important subject, that I am sending out this volume.

But why, it may be asked, put before the public essays on the Roman controversy already published, and some of them many years ago.

The answer is that the problem has not changed in any important respect. The principles involved are the same to-day as fifty years ago. The doctrines Rome requires men to accept are the same as when I published my lectures in vindication of Protestantism in 1879. The attacks her controversialists make on the Protestant position to-day are on substantially the same lines as that delivered against it by Vicar-General Preston in December, 1878. And therefore my argument in repelling that assault is as valid to-day as then.

The same is true of my answer to the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on Christian unity in 1896. If the argument was effective then, it is no less so to-day, and there is a distinct advantage in shaping it to meet the plea so skilfully put forward by his Holiness in that striking document.

As to the most recent of these publications, *Religious Liberty and the Maryland Toleration Act*,

it was meant to meet the claim put forth by Cardinal Gibbons, that the Catholic colony of Maryland was the first home and sanctuary of religious liberty in America. I sought to bring that claim to the bar of history and to show how untenable it is. The strange pretense that the Roman Church was the mother of religious liberty in our country, whereas she has been its relentless foe in all others, has been widely exploited of late by the Roman Catholic press and by the priesthood and hierarchy. And I have therefore thought that the historical demonstration of the futility of this claim, which I gave in 1908, would be no less valuable to-day. I have added a brief chapter in further confirmation of the argument.

Of my reply to the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII., I may say further that the favorable opinion expressed of it at the time by many whose judgment I value, and the not infrequent demands for it since it has been out of print, seem to justify the hope that its republication may be helpful in the controversy with Rome. That it satisfactorily meets the arguments of his Holiness, is an opinion I may hold without presumption, when it is remembered that the bishops who opposed the decree of infallibility, declared in the observations which they jointly submitted at the Council that its promulgation "would make Catholicism indefensible in controversy"—*North British Review*, Oct., 1870, p. 225.

In my first edition I quoted at length from an alleged speech of Bishop Strossmayer, not knowing that it had been reported that he had repudiated it.

Those extracts I have now placed in an Appendix, not as certainly having been uttered by the bold and eloquent prelate, but for their intrinsic value. I give below a letter from a revered Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, now deceased, on the subject.[1]

It is often said that the Church of Rome has become more enlightened in these modern days—that she shows a broader and more tolerant spirit—that she has risen above the absolutism and the superstition of the Middle Ages.

There could not be a greater mistake. Her

[1] ALBANY, N. Y., Nov. 27, 1900.

MY DEAR DR. MCKIM:

I have just read your little book with great interest. It seems to me a wonderfully clear and thorough resumé of what I confess always seemed to me the most irresistible argument against the whole modern Roman position. I am very sorry about the Strossmayer matter, because both the letter itself and the source from which it came, and the little headings in which you have made extracts from it, are very telling, but of course if he repudiated it, although I am quite sure he only did it under the pressure of that iron heel, I do not think it would be wise in any future editions to use it except as a footnote. But I should certainly say in the footnote that when the first edition was printed you had every reason to believe the speech to be authentic, and that you are inclined to believe now that the repudiation, if it was made, was compulsory rather that voluntary. With many thanks for your courtesy in sending me the book, I am,

Faithfully your brother,

W. C. DOANE.

claims are just as arrogant—just as tremendous in the year 1914 as in 1870 or in 1215. Her antagonism to modern progress and modern science is just as positive to-day as it was when Pius IX. put forth his famous Syllabus in 1864. Leo XIII. was deemed the most enlightened of modern Popes, and yet in his encyclical on "Human Liberty," June 20, 1888, he proscribed liberty of thought or of the press, of teaching or of religion, and in his encyclical to France, Feb. 16, 1892, he calls the separation of Church and State a false principle.

The author of the *Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X.*, writing three or four years ago, deplored the fact that the

> "Papacy's attitude to the foundations of civilization has been of a hostility so undisguised, a violence so bitter, and a contempt so scornful, as to cause havoc and consternation within the Church itself, and anxiety and outcry among the governments of free states in Europe.
>
> "So far as the Papacy is concerned, it is following to-day the same course of despotism as led to its rejection by the most progressive nations of the world, and in consequence human liberty should lift its voice and free states be on their guard against it."—p. xix.

In confirmation of this tremendous indictment, the writer quotes from an encyclical of Pius X., August 25, 1910, in which it is declared that there can be no worthy civilization not wholly con-

trolled by the Church; and refers to the papal rescript *Sacrorum Antistitum*, which orders "the expulsion of all Catholic teachers who are in any degree infected with liberal ideas"; insists upon the expulsion from the seminaries of all liberal writings, "even if of Catholic authorship"; and concludes with imposing on the Roman priests throughout the world the famous oath against Modernism, in which they are required to swear to adhere with all their heart to every declaration and condemnation of the Pope's Syllabus, and of his encyclical against Modernism.

The reigning Pope has shown in many ways that he is vehemently opposed to liberty of conscience, and he has warmly and officially commended a book which declares that "public heretics deserve, not merely to be excommunicated, but to be killed"; that the power to kill heretics belongs to both the State and the Church; that the Church tolerates heretics now because it is not prudent to kill them; and finally that the Pope has the power to depose secular rulers who abandon Catholicism, and to absolve the subjects of such rulers from their allegiance.[1]

It is an unquestionable fact, in spite of the rhetoric of Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland, that Rome to this day officially and uncompromisingly rejects liberty of conscience as a principle. Pope Leo XIII. in his encyclical

[1] De stabilitate et Progressu Dogmatis. See *Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius* X., pp. xxiii–iv.

on "Human Liberty," June 20, 1888, says: "It is in no wise permitted to demand, defend, or grant, liberty of thought or of the press, of teaching or of religion." Even the Inquisition, which the Papal organ, in Rome, in 1855 described as "a sublime spectacle of social perfection," is still approved.

The *Western Watchman*, perhaps the most influential Roman Catholic paper in the United States, declares that, "it makes no apology for the massacre of St. Bartholomew or for the Spanish Inquisition"; in fact the Papacy stands before the modern world with the millstone of the Inquisition still about its neck, "that diabolical institution which for five hundred years was the terror of Europe, teaching the innocence of confiscation, the virtue of delation and the godliness of murder." Nor has the doctrine of indulgences been abandoned. By order of Pius IX., every step of the Scala Santa has an indulgence of nine thousand years attached to it! By visiting the Servite Church at Florence, you gain, by favor of Leo X., an indulgence of a thousand years!

Meanwhile every effort to reform either the doctrine or the morals of the Church is repressed with an iron hand. Montalembert, thoroughgoing Catholic though he was, died of a broken heart under Pius IX's condemnation.

Father Tyrrell, that devout and accomplished scholar, was suspended and excommunicated, and

the priest, who bravely dared to give him Christian burial in defiance of the orders of the Pope, was promptly suspended from his office.

"Every earnest spirit that in our time has attacked consecrated iniquity or ecclesiastical folly has been bludgeoned. Look at the men who have spoken for peace, religion, and truth against oppression . . . high-minded men of God, yet every one of them saw his dream dissolve, and died, or will die, forlorn, defeated, hopeless." *Letters to His Holiness Pius X.*, pp. 8, 9.

Nearly forty-four years have elapsed since the promulgation of the decree of Papal Infallibility, and we are now able to form some estimate of the result of the dogma on the fortunes of the Church. In general we may say that the predictions of its opponents in the Council, Bp. Hefele, Cardinal Schwarzenburg, Bp. Strossmayer; Darboy, Abp. of Paris; Conolly, Abp. of Halifax, and many others, have been fulfilled.

Thus, Archbishop Darboy predicted "it would work swift ruin on the temporal power"—a prophecy very swiftly fulfilled. The document jointly agreed to by the minority, already referred to, declared it would give governments apparent reason to doubt the fidelity of Catholics. This, too, has come to pass, and we see the Church disestablished in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, and in France. Indeed, she has been weakened and defeated all over Europe, and so she turns to

America as her last hope, and is laboring with feverish energy "to make America Catholic."

Let me further recount the views expressed at the time of the Vatican Council. Thus Prince Hohenlohe said the proposed decree involved all those claims which cause collisions between Church and State and threaten the liberty and security of governments.

Cardinal Schwarzenberg: "Papal infallibility would make the foundations of faith to tremble even in devoutest souls."

The Archbishop of Halifax (Dr. Conolly) declared the proposal was only fit to be put decorously underground.

One bishop declared he would rather die than sign the decree. Another, that the Church would commit suicide if it adopted it.

The learned and candid men who opposed it predicted that it would put an end to the conversion of Protestants; it would drive devout men out of the Church; would give new authority to the theory of persecution and of the deposing power. They said, moreover, that the doctrine was unknown in many parts of the Church, and was denied by the Fathers, so that neither perpetuity nor universality could be pleaded in its favor. In short, it was an absurd contradiction founded on ignoble deceit.[1] This utterance fully

[1] In confirmation of the above statements I refer to an article on "The Vatican Council" from the pen of Lord Acton in the *North British Review* of October, 1870.

justifies the opinion expressed by Mr. Gladstone in his well-known pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees that the acceptance of this decree is incompatible with the loyalty which a citizen owes to the State.

On the other hand, take note of the character of the arguments by which its advocates supported the proposal:

A doctrine must be true if the Church believes it, without any warrant from Scripture. Scripture may be silent and tradition contradictory, but the Church is independent of both. (Petavius.)

We have not the authority of Scripture for Indulgences, but we have the higher authority of the Roman Pontiffs.

The Dogmatic Commission of the Council took the ground that:

"Objections taken from history are not valid when contradicted by ecclesiastical decrees."

Again:

"Religion cannot submit to the criticism of historians."

Consider also for a moment the methods employed.

Books bearing venerable names—Clement, Dionysius, Isidore—were forged for the purpose of supplying authority for opinions that lacked the sanction of antiquity.[1]

[1] Compare the article of Lord Acton already cited.

Bearing in mind the utterances of the able men who opposed the dogma, we may truly say that the bishops went forth from the Vatican Council of 1870, after the promulgation of Papal Infallibility, with the task of Jason before them—to plow their fields with fire-breathing oxen, and then to sow them with dragons' teeth! This new dogma breathes flame indeed,—but it has been an ill instrument for plowing the fields of the modern world! And the anathemas of the Syllabus of Pius IX., which are associated with it, have yielded such a harvest of disaster as might have been expected from the sowing of dragons' teeth in Christendom.

What this harvest has been we may judge from a brief summary which I now propose to give.

It appears in the first place, that from the time when the Syllabus of Pius IX. was set forth, 1864, the Roman Church has been passing through a remarkable phase of disintegration, and would seem to have lost nearly a third of its dominion.[1]

The intelligent classes in all civilized countries have to an enormous extent been estranged from the Church. Rationalism and infidelity have made fearful havoc, as Pope Pius X. himself

[1] "Contrary to a widespread conviction, there has been no progress made by the Roman Church during the nineteenth century in any normally educated portion of the English-speaking world. . . . The conversions that have been made in the English-speaking world redeem only a small fraction of the heavy losses."

He estimates those losses in the United States at 14,000,000. *The Decay of the Church of Rome*, p. 194, by Joseph McCabe.

laments, in some of the principal Roman Catholic countries—in the natural reaction from the attempt of the Church to fetter reason, to stifle inquiry, to discourage scientific and historical investigation, and to bind the limbs of thought by a despotic absolutism. Setting itself in antagonism to freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, it has made modern Democracy its relentless foe, and has stimulated the growth of that very Socialism which it so bitterly denounces. "Modernism," which might have stood for the sane and sober and devout application to the doctrines of the Church of a reverent and enlightened scholarship, has become in large degree the synonym for the repudiation of much of the historic deposit of the Faith, by minds which, in breaking loose from the swaddling bands by which the Church has bound them, have swung to the opposite extreme of unrestrained liberalism.

In confirmation of these statements, look for a moment at the state of the Church in France.

In the year 1894, M. Taine made a painstaking attempt to estimate the decay of Catholicism in France, collecting his statistics as far as possible from Roman Catholic sources, and he came, with regret, to the conclusion that out of a population of 36,000,000 there were only between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 Catholics left. Or consider the statement of the Abbé Dessaine (1897), that there has been an "incredible loss of faith" in provinces

once noted for their religion,—Brittany for example. Thus, in a Catholic district with 2300 inhabitants, only 200 went to church on Sundays. He was himself curé of an urban parish of 21,000 souls. Of these less than 1200 went to Mass on Sundays. In a parish of 5000 souls not 100 men entered the chapel on Sunday.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Church appears to have lost 25,000,000 of the 30,000,000 of her children.

If we turn to Italy, we find a state of things not dissimilar. Careful and authoritative writers tell us that "from the confession of Catholics themselves Catholicism has small hold on the educated classes." The professional classes and the students are either indifferent or hostile; and the middle class is lost to the Church in Italy.

Infidelity grows apace—witness the Italian Freethinkers' Convention held in Rome in 1904, in spite of a vehement protest against it issued by the Pope,—the Mayor of Rome hailing "the noble struggle of the human intellect in which they were engaged." It was an emphatic and triumphant demonstration against the Vatican; and yet ninety-five Italian municipalities sent official representatives, or official letters of adhesion, to it. These are some of the tares that have sprung up in the fields of the Church from the dragons' teeth sown by the Vatican Council of 1870.

In the other principal countries of Europe a similar state of things exists.

But what of the United States? Here at least, it is generally believed the Roman Church has made amazing progress—has achieved notable triumphs. In the year 1800, her strength was estimated at barely 100,000, but in 1890 it had grown to 10,000,000, and in 1913 it was variously estimated at from 12,000,000 to 14,000,000, or even more.

But it is forgotten that this growth has come almost exclusively from immigration from the various countries of Europe; so that every million added to the Roman Church in the United States represents a million transferred from some other branch of the Roman Church,—and does not represent any growth at all.

On the contrary, this transference results really in enormous loss. This is established beyond contradiction by reliable Roman Catholic authorities. Thus Bishop England, of the diocese embracing South Carolina and Georgia, reported officially in 1836 that out of 50,000 people of Catholic origin, only 10,000 were faithful; and he estimates the loss to the Church in fifty years as 3,750,000. A memorial addressed to the Pope by some of the faithful in 1891 affirms that there were 20,000,000 descendants of Catholic emigrants to the United States, and that of these 16,000,000 had apostatized. A Roman prelate, writing to the *Freeman's Journal*, 3d December, 1898, said that "the number of Catholics in the United States ought to be double what it is to-day."

The same journal claimed that there were 40,000,000 people of Catholic extraction in the United States, and that 20,000,000 of these had gone over to Protestantism.

An Irish priest, describing his American experience in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (Feb., May and July, 1902) says there should be a total Catholic population in the United States of 20,000,000; —he found it less than 10,000,000. American prelates had begged him to arrest the tide of emigration from Ireland. "For your people," said one of them, "America is the road to hell."

Careful statistics justify the conclusion that the Roman Catholic Church ought to-day to number in our country more than 23,000,000, without counting a single convert.[1]

In further confirmation of the above statements, consider the following admission by Father Phelan, of the *Western Watchman*, in a sermon found in that journal, Sept. 25, 1913:

"Now we boast our wondrous progress in this country. We are building new churches and establishing new dioceses, and we think we are doing wonders. We are doing less than in any other country in the world. I tell you because I know whereof I speak. We are making no real lasting progress here. We are receiving the best that the Catholic nations of the world can send us, and immigration is making us strong; but we are losing hold of the men . . . The men don't go to Mass."

[1] See *L'Américanisme*, by Canon Delassus, pp. 354–356.

The Roman Catholic Church, then, when we take a broad survey of its condition, is seen to be losing ground over wide areas, and especially in the centres of greatest enlightenment. It is not gaining, it is losing strength. It is not really consolidating its resources, it is disintegrating. Father McCabe's conclusion appears to rest on a solid basis.

When we note the extraordinary impotence of Catholicism in the great cities of Europe; when we learn in country after country, that the middle class forsook it a generation ago, and the artisans are abandoning it to-day, when we find its authority rejected almost in proportion as a nation is touched with culture; and when we see that its larger tracts of unchallenged authority so constantly correspond with the darker areas in the cultural map of the world—we see that its power rests largely on a basis that is directly and triumphantly challenged by the modern spirit—a basis of ignorance.[1]

Another conclusion we confidently draw for ourselves is this: that as long as that Church is dominated by the mediæval spirit, as long as it clings to its effete superstitions, as long as it hugs contentedly the fetters of absolutism welded by the Vatican, it can never become the Church of the American people. The enterprise of "making America Catholic" is foredoomed to failure.

[1] *The Decay of the Church of Rome*, by Joseph McCabe, p. 305–6. Methuen & Co.

Nevertheless we are confronted by a real danger by reason of the presence of the Roman Church in our midst, under its now prevailing auspices. That danger arises from the ambition of the hierarchy to grasp political power in the United States. It is not necessary to prove that this ambition exists among those who are shaping its destinies in the Republic. Whoever has observed their policy at all critically cannot fail to see it. So confident are they of their political power that the *Western Watchman* boastfully says that any public man who opposes the Roman Church commits political suicide. This boast is also a confession—a confession that the Church controls the ballots cast by her partisans—controls them sufficiently to defeat those who incur her displeasure. That which makes her dangerous—that which gives her so often a controlling political influence is not her numbers, but her solidarity—the subserviency of a large proportion of her adherents to the direction of the priesthood. It is this mediæval sacerdotalism that constitutes our peril. The Roman priest controls the political action of a large part of his flock. The Protestant minister neither wields, nor seeks to wield, such control. And so it comes to pass that the Roman minority often triumphs over the Protestant majority.

In conclusion I venture to quote a passage from a recent address of my own. After enumerating some of the manifold ways in which

some of the representatives of the Church of Rome are abridging the liberties of our people by the ballot, by the boycott, by interference with our public libraries, by warring against our public schools, by putting the Bible on the Index, by mobbing Protestant lecturers, I go on to say:

"In view of this catalogue of things that are going on among us, I ask, Is it not a fact that our liberties are abridged, that an ecclesiastical tyranny does already in fact exist in our midst?

What then?—Why, this: the great Protestant communions must realize the seriousness of the crisis that is upon us. They must make common cause against this insidious menace to our Constitution and to our liberties. They must come out into the open and stand together in solid phalanx against all these invasions of personal liberty; not in anger, not in bitterness, not with violence of speech or violence of action, but calmly, resolutely, with invincible determination that the principles of our Constitution shall be preserved inviolate, and that our citizens shall enjoy absolute liberty of speech and action, shall be free to act, to vote, and to carry on their worldly affairs without any interference, directly or indirectly, from the priesthood.

"My friends and brethren, this unity, this Protestant unity of action that I have alluded to, is coming. I hear the sound of its advancing footsteps. I hear afar off the tramp, as of a mighty army marching to the Battle Hymn of the Republic. It is an army of peace. Its weapons are not carnal, but spiritual. By the force of reason, by the power of an enlightened public

opinion, it will win its victories. Its voice will be the voice of the many millions of Protestant citizens, the great majority of our people, and it will command respect, it will constrain to obedience. And this will be the tenor of its speech to our Roman Catholic fellow citizens:

"'In the name of the great Republic we charge you, Remember that you, as well as we, owe obedience to the laws and the Constitution of this land, not in letter only, but in spirit. Remember that only by moral and spiritual force ought you (or any other religionists) to seek to propagate your religion. Be content with the liberty to profess and practice and propagate your religion, without meddling in politics, without attempting to coerce or intimidate free American citizens, without using the boycott or the bludgeon, to accomplish your ends; in short, to propagate your religion wholly by rational and spiritual means.

"In other words, be content to be a spiritual and not a politico-religious organization; and beware that you make no attempt, direct or indirect, to tamper with the sacred principles of our Constitution. *Then* there will be peace between us, and we can live and labor together for the honor and the glory of our common country.'"

Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on the Reunion of Christendom

Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on the Reunion of Christendom

I

THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM

THE reunion of Christendom is a consummation devoutly to be wished and prayed for, and for which Christian men and Christian churches ought to be prepared to make great concessions—to sacrifice everything but truth itself. But, as the Bishop of Edinburgh says in a recent charge to the Synod of Edinburgh (1895), it ought to be considered that "unity in external communion without unity in fundamental truth would be, even if it could be obtained, a curse and not a blessing." Any proposition, therefore, looking to the reunion of the Anglican Church with the Church of Rome, as preparatory to the further and larger step of a complete reunion of Christendom, must deal first with the problem of unity in fundamental truth between these two great communions. And when their respective doctrinal positions are examined it becomes at once apparent that they are so fundamentally at variance that without

radical and far-reaching change on one side or the other reunion is impossible.

I invite attention to the language of the learned prelate just referred to upon this subject:

"Day by day [he says] we offer up the supplication . . . 'that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of *truth*'—*that first*, and *then*, possessing the *truth*, "may hold the faith in *Unity of Spirit*, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.' What has been forgotten, or at least in practice minimized, on the side of those Anglicans to whom I have referred, is the paramount claim of truth. What the Church of Rome holds to be truth, she never for one moment will compromise or explain away. As each new dogma has been added to her creed, it secures a place co-ordinate in certainty and authority for her own children with the doctrines that seem to us most clearly revealed in Holy Scripture. She teaches no doctrine that might be recalled, revised, modified, or explained away. For the purposes of diplomatic negotiations with other religious communities, she suffers from the very considerable *inconvenience of infallibility*. If two parties differ, and one is, *ex hypothesi*, always right on the fundamental points in dispute, it is plain that there can be but one issue to any successful effort at making up the difference. Union with Rome means simply acceptance of her creed and submission to her authority. What some of us venture to call her "errors," are with her immutable and irreformable expressions of Divine truth, having all the authority of God Himself. It comes then simply to this: Can we surrender

the principles for which the Anglican Church has steadily contended for the last three hundred and fifty years? Or can we hold the doctrines of our Church, and, with a due regard for the ordinary and natural rules by which historical documents are interpreted, can we reconcile the sense of our historical and authoritative standards of doctrine with the authoritative doctrine of the Church of Rome? The only answer to each question is,—*It is impossible.*"

There could not be a better illustration of the truth of these remarks of Dr. Dowden than is found in the Encyclical of Leo XIII. on Christian Unity, issued in the early summer of 1896, to which the following "Letter" was a reply. This Pontiff has been widely extolled (and no doubt justly) for his enlightened liberality, and for the breadth of his sympathies, as well as for his sanctity. Yet when he undertakes to discuss Christian unity, he holds a tone as uncompromising, as unbending, as absolute as Hildebrand himself. Underneath all his gracious and paternal phrases, there lurks unabated the imperial temper of the Popes of the Middle Ages. He offers not a single concession. He makes not a single advance. He abates not a jot or tittle of the claims of his predecessors. He has one short and simple solution of the problem presented by Christian unity, — Let the whole Christian world — all churches, communions, sects, make their submission to the Roman Pontiff. Only an absolute surrender to Rome can heal the divisions of

Christendom. Two things, the Encyclical declares are indispensably necessary. First, we must accept every article of faith, and point of doctrine, which has been authoritatively proclaimed and established by the Roman Church; and, second, we must accept the jurisdiction, the supremacy, the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.

Let us ask, then, What does the Roman Church require us to believe? It would lead us too far to reply to this question exhaustively. It will be enough to note that besides the three Creeds accepted by the Church of England, she requires us to accept (1) the Creed of Pius IV. set forth A.D. 1564; (2) the definitions of the Œcumenical Councils; (3) all *ex cathedra* doctrinal definitions of the Popes in all the ages, *e.g.*, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin promulgated in the year 1854 by Pius IX. Now let us suppose that we could accept all the doctrines and articles of faith pertaining to the Christian religion, just enumerated, it would avail us nothing unless we also submitted to the jurisdiction and supremacy of the Bishop of Rome.[1] "Schism" from the Pope, Leo tells us, places us "outside the One Fold." "Bishops are deprived of the right and power of ruling if they deliberately secede from Peter and his successors." "The

[1] "The very nature of divine faith makes it impossible that we can reject even one point of direct teaching (by the authoritative magisterium of the Church), as this is practically rejecting the authority of God Himself."—Encyclical on Christian Unity.

Episcopate order is rightly judged to be in communion with Peter, as Christ commanded, if it is subject to and obeys Peter; otherwise it necessarily becomes a lawless and disorderly crowd." It is not enough that the head of the Church "should have been charged merely with the office of superintendent, or should have been invested solely with the power of direction, but *it is absolutely necessary that he should have received real and sovereign authority which the whole community is bound to obey.*"[1] I italicize these last words in order to call attention to the distinct assertion which they make that absolute power is vested in the Pope. Innocent III. himself could not have more distinctly formulated the theory of an absolute ecclesiastical despotism lodged in the hands of the Roman Pontiffs. Pope Boniface VIII. asserted no more when he declared officially (in his Bull *Unam Sanctam*), "We declare, assert, and define, that for every human creature it is altogether necessary to salvation that he be subject to the Roman Pontiff."[2] Did Pope Gregory VII. do more than draw out a corollary from the same fundamental proposition when he affirmed that "when men proudly re-

[1] The Encyclical.

[2] The French novelist who has lately given the world a truly remarkable picture of modern Rome was justified, it would appear, in putting the following words into the mouth of Pope Leo XIII: "Ah! le Schisme, ah! le Schisme, mon fils, c'est le crime sans pardon, c'est l'assassinat du vrai Dieu, la bête de tentation immonde, suscitée par l'Enfer, pour la perte des fidèles."

fuse to obey the Apostolic Chair (of Peter) they incur the guilt of idolatry," ("cum enim obedire apostolicæ sedi superbe contemnunt, scelus idolatriæ . . . incurrunt")? And did not Bellarmine build on the same foundation when he made the amazing and blasphemous assertion that "if the Pope should err by enjoining vices and prohibiting virtues, the Church would be bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues to be bad, unless she would sin against conscience"?[1]

In making these strictures upon the real purport of the Encyclical, we do not wish or intend to impeach the sincerity of the venerable Pontiff, or to question or doubt his genuine zeal for the reunion of Christendom. Rather would we draw attention to the inexorable logic of the iron system which the Papacy incarnates. The gentleness and charity and sympathy and zeal of Leo XIII. only serve as a foil to the sharp two-edged sword which as Pope he is compelled to wield. The man, good and kind and liberal-minded as he is, is helplessly in the grip of the absolutism of which he is the official representative.

Here, however, is the feature of the Encyclical which deserves especial note, and which called forth the Letter of reply which follows. His Holiness undertakes to reason with "the peoples of the Christian world," and to set before them

[1] "Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare."

somewhat at length the grounds in Scripture and the ancient Fathers upon which the proud edifice of Roman ecclesiastical imperialism professes to rear itself. Thus the document refers the great matters at issue to the arbitrament of Holy Scripture and primitive antiquity, and, in effect, invites all who dissent from Rome to exercise their private judgment in seeking a true conclusion. The present writer felt that the Encyclical thus constituted a challenge, which could not properly be declined, to meet the illustrious apologist of the Papal system upon ground which we as Anglicans have ever claimed as our own.

The following publication has for its object the justification of the assertions made in my open Letter of Reply to Pope Leo XIII., published in the *Washington Post* of July 27, 1896, especially by giving the passages from the Fathers alluded to therein.

I have quoted freely from the Encyclical of the "Holy Catholic and Apostolical Orthodox Church of the East" in reply to a previous encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on reunion, of November 30, 1894, in order to draw attention to the important and impressive fact that on all the great questions at issue between the Anglican Communion and the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, with its one hundred millions of adherents, stands with us. As to Purgatory, the Immaculate Conception, Mariolatry, Denial of the Cup to the Laity, the Primacy of Peter, the ancient

Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, the claims of Papal Authority, of Temporal Power, of Infallibility, she agrees with us. She interprets the Fathers, and the decrees and canons of the ancient Councils just as we do, upon all these points. She finds the Roman system made up of innovations,—modern, not ancient; provincial, not catholic,—built not upon the Holy Scriptures, not upon the ancient Fathers, not upon the ancient Councils, but upon perversions and usurpations, upon spurious Patristic passages, upon the false Clementines, upon the forged Decretals of Isidore, upon the unauthentic Apostolical Constitutions. This is her language:

"The orthodox Church of Christ is ever ready to receive every proposal of reunion, if only the Bishop of Rome shakes off, once and for all time, the many and divers innovations which, contrary to the Gospel, have been stealthily introduced into the Church, and have caused the grievous division of the churches of the East and the West; and if only he returns to the ground of the seven Œcumenical Councils, which were held under the guidance of the Holy Spirit by the representatives of all the Churches of God, in order to define the right teaching of faith, as against those that tended to heresy."

II

POPE LEO'S ENCYCLICAL ON CHRISTIAN UNITY

ON the 29th of June, 1896, the following report of the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. was given to the press:

Cardinal Gibbons has received from Rome advance sheets of Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on the union of the Christian churches. It is addressed to all Bishops in communion with the Holy See, and is in part as follows:

"The Holy Father, intent upon the work of bringing all to the one fold of Christ, considers that it would conduce to the end were he to set before the peoples of the Christian world the ideal and exemplar of the church as divinely constituted, to which church all are bound by God's command to belong.

"In accordance with His usual providence, God makes use of human instruments to effect the sanctification and salvation of men. To this end not only did He take upon Himself human nature, but in order to perpetuate His mission, the Son of God chose apostles and disciples, whom He had trained, that they might faithfully hand down His teaching and commands to those who desired the blessing He had purchased for mankind by His death.

"In commanding the apostles and their successors to the end of time to teach and rule the nations He ordered the nations to accept and obey their authority.

"In Scripture, the church is called a body, and the body of Christ. It is visible as being a living and organized society, and is animated by the invisible vital principle of supernatural life. Those, therefore, who either deny that Christ's church is a visible body or refuse to allow that it has 'the perennial communication of the gifts of divine grace, are equally in a grievous and pernicious error.' The 'connection and union of both elements is absolutely necessary to the true church as the intimate union of the soul and body is to human nature,' and as this is the essential constitution of the church according to God's will, who also determined that it was to last to the end of time, this it must possess at the present day."

The Mission of Christ.

"It is obviously of the first importance to determine what Christ wished His church to be, and what in fact He made it. According to this criterion, it is the unity of the Christian church which must necessarily be considered, for it is certain that when 'He founded it He wished it to be one.' The mission of Christ was to save not some nations or peoples only, but the whole human race, without distinction of time or place. Hence, as the mission of His church was to hand down through every age the blessing of this salvation by the will of its founder, it is necessary that this church should be one in all lands and at all times.

"A church which should embrace all men every-

where and at all times was clearly foretold by the prophet Isaiah, and was typified as our Lord's mystical body—a body united to Himself as head; a mystical body, the members of which, if separated one from the other, 'cannot be united with one and the same head.' And so another head like to Christ—that is, another Christ—must be invented if besides the one church, which is His body, men wish to set up another.

"Furthermore, 'He who made this one church also gave it unity—that is, He made it such that all who so belong to it must be united by the closest bonds, so as to form one society, one kingdom, one body.' And He willed that this unity among His followers should be so perfect 'that it might in some measure shadow forth the union between Himself and His father.' "

Unity of Faith Essential.

"As a necessary consequence 'in His divine wisdom He ordained in His church unity of faith—a virtue which is the first of those bonds which unite man to God and whence we receive the name of the faithful.' The nature of this unity of faith must and can be ascertained from the commands and teaching of Christ Himself. The mere possession of the Scriptures is not sufficient to insure unity of belief, 'not merely because of the nature of the doctrine itself and the mysteries it involves, but also because of the divergent tendencies of the human mind and the disturbing element of conflicting passions.'

"It was necessary 'that there should be another principle' to insure union of minds in the Christian Church, and it is consequently proper to inquire

which of the many means by which Christ, our Lord, could have secured this unity, He, in fact, adopted. It is the duty of all followers of Christ, not merely to accept His doctrine generally, 'but to assent with their entire mind to all and every point of it, since it is unlawful to withhold faith from God even in regard to one single point.'

"Christ endowed His apostles with authority like to His own, and promised that the spirit of truth should direct them and remain with them forever, and because of this commission it is no more allowable to repudiate one iota of the apostles' teaching than to reject any point of the doctrine of Christ Himself. This apostolic mission was intended for the salvation of the whole human race, and consequently must last to the end of time."

Authority of the Church.

"The magisterium instituted by Christ in His church was by God's will perpetuated in the successors appointed by the apostles, and in like manner the duty of accepting and professing all that is thus taught is also perpetual and immutable. There is nothing which the church founded on these principles has been more careful to guard than the integrity of the faith. The fathers of the church are unanimous in considering as outside the Catholic communion any one who in the least degree deviates from even one point of the doctrine proposed by the authoritative magisterium of the church.

"Wherefore Christ instituted in the church a living, authoritative, and lasting magisterium. He willed and commanded under the gravest penalties that its

teachings should be received as if they were His own. As often, therefore, as it is declared on the authority of this teaching that this or that is contained in the deposit of divine revelation, it must be believed by every one as true. The very nature of divine faith makes it impossible that we can reject even one point of direct teaching, as this is practically rejecting the authority of God Himself.

"Christ commanded 'all men present and future to follow Him as their leader and Saviour, and this not merely as individuals, but as forming a society, organized and united in mind. He established in the church all those principles which necessarily tend to make organized human societies and through which they attain the perfection proper to each.' That is, in the church founded by Christ, 'all who wished to be the sons of God by adoption might attain to the perfection demanded by their high calling and might obtain salvation.'

"The church is 'man's guide to whatever pertains to heaven. This is the office appointed to it by God that it may watch over and may order all that concerns religion, and may without let or hindrance exercise, according to its judgment, its charge over Christianity. Wherefore they who pretend that the church has any wish to interfere in civil matters, or to infringe upon the rights of the State, either know it not or wickedly calumniate it.'"

Christ's Vicegerent on Earth.

"Besides being the guardian of the faith, the church must afford the means of obtaining the salvation purchased by Christ. The dispensation of the divine

ministries was not granted by God indiscriminately to all Christians, but to the apostles and their successors, and in this way, according to God's providence, a duly constituted society 'was formed out of the divided multitudes of people, one in faith, one in end, one in the participation of the means adapted to the attainment of the end, and one as subject to one and the same authority.'

"As 'no true and perfect human society can be conceived which is not governed by some supreme authority,' so Christ, of necessity, gave to His church a supreme authority to which all Christians must be obedient. For the preservation of unity, there must be unity of government *jure divino*, and men may be placed outside the one fold by schism as well as by heresy.

"The nature of this supreme authority can be ascertained from the positive and evident will of Christ in the matter. As He willed that His kingdom should be visible, Christ was obliged to designate a vicegerent on earth in the person of St. Peter. He also determined that the authority given him for the salvation of mankind in perpetuity should be inherited by St. Peter's successors.

"It cannot be doubted from the words of Holy Writ that the church, by the will of God, rests on St. Peter, as a building on its foundation. St. Peter could not fulfill this duty without the power of commanding, forbidding, judging, which is properly called 'jurisdiction.' It is by the power of jurisdiction that nations and commonwealths are held together—a primacy of honor, and the shadowy right of giving advice and admonition, which is called direction,

could never give unity or strength to any society of men."

St. Peter's Power Supreme.

"The metaphorical expressions of the 'keys' and of 'binding and loosing' indicate 'the power of making laws, of judging and of punishing—a power which our Lord declares to be of such amplitude and force that God would ratify whatever is decreed by it.' Thus the power of St. Peter is supreme, and absolutely independent, so that having no other power upon earth as its superior it embraces the whole church and all things committed to the church.

"As this governing authority belongs to the constitution and formation of the church as the very principle of unity and stability, it was clearly intended to pass to St. Peter's successors from one to another. Consequently, the pontiffs who succeed him in the Roman episcopate receive the supreme power in the church *jure divino*, and this is declared fully by general councils, and is acknowledged by the consent of antiquity.

"But though the authority of St. Peter and his successors is plenary and supreme, it is not to be regarded as the only authority.

"The Bishops, who are the successors of the apostles, inherit their ordinary power, and the 'Episcopal order necessarily belongs to the essential constitution of the church.' They are consequently not to be regarded as mere vicars of the Roman pontiffs, since 'they exercise a power which is really their own, and are most truly called the ordinary pastors of the people over whom they rule.'"

EPISCOPAL RIGHTS LOST BY SECESSION.

"For the preservation of unity in the Christian church, it is above all things necessary that there should be union between the Roman pontiff, the one successor to St. Peter, and the Bishops, the many successors of the apostolic college. 'It is necessary to bear in mind that no prerogative was confessed in the apostles in which St. Peter did not participate, but that many were bestowed upon St. Peter apart from the apostles.' He alone was designated by Christ as the foundation of His church. To him He gave the power of forgiving and retaining, and to him alone was given the authority to feed. From this it follows 'that Bishops are deprived of the right and power of ruling if they deliberately secede from Peter and his successors, because by this secession they are separated from the foundation on which the whole edifice rested.'

"As the divine founder of the church decreed that His church should be one in faith, in government, and communion, so He chose Peter and his successors as the principal, and, as it were, the center of this unity.

"The episcopate order is rightly judged to be in communion with Peter, as Christ commanded, if it is subject to and obeys Peter; otherwise it necessarily becomes a lawless and disorderly crowd. For the due preservation of unity of the faith, it is not sufficient 'that the head should have been charged merely with the office of superintendent or should have been invested solely with the power of direction, but it is absolutely necessary that he should have received real and sovereign authority which the whole community is bound to obey.'"

AUTHORITY OF BISHOPS LIMITED.

"It is opposed to the truth, and is in evident contradiction with the divine constitution of the church to hold that while a Bishop is individually bound to obey the authority of the Roman pontiffs, the Bishops, taken collectively, are not so bound. For it is the nature and essence of a foundation to support the unity of the whole edifice and to give stability to it rather than that of each component part. It was through the strength and solidity of the foundation that Christ promised that the gates of hell should not prevail against His church—a promise to be understood of the church as a whole, and not of any certain portions of it.

"Moreover, he who is set over the whole flock must have authority not only over the sheep dispersed throughout the church, but also when they are assembled together. Do all the sheep gathered together rule and guide the shepherd? Do the successors of the apostles assembled together constitute the foundation on which the successor of St. Peter rests in order to derive therefrom strength and stability?

"The Popes have ever unquestionably exercised the office of ratifying or rejecting the decrees of councils. Leo the Great rescinded the acts of Conciliabulum of Ephesus. Damasus rejected those of Rimini, and Adrian I. those of Constantinople. The twenty-eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon, by the very fact that it lacks the assent and approval of the apostolic see, is admitted by all to be worthless.

"Holy writ attests that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to Peter alone, and that the promise of binding and loosing was granted to the apostles and

to Peter, but there is nothing to show that the apostles received supreme power without Peter or against Peter. Such power they certainly did not receive from Jesus Christ. Wherefore, in the decree of the Vatican council as to the nature and authority of the primacy of the Roman pontiff, no newly conceived opinion is set forth, but the venerable and constant belief of all ages."

III

AN OPEN LETTER TO HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII.

To His Holiness Pope Leo XIII:

Revered Pontiff:

Inasmuch as your recent encyclical on Christian unity, although formally addressed only "to the Bishops in communion with the Holy See," does, in fact, make argument and appeal "to the peoples of the Christian world," it will not, I trust, appear improper or presumptuous if I, being only an humble and obscure priest in the Church of God, venture to lay before your Holiness some of the difficulties which are widely felt in acceding to the proposal and plan you have been pleased to set forth in order to effectuate Christian unity.

The fact that I am of the Anglican communion, and therefore a Protestant, makes it not less, but more, becoming that I should make respectful reply, since it is especially on behalf of the Protestant peoples that your Holiness has been at the pains to prepare this encyclical with a view to "bringing all to the one fold of Christ." It would, indeed, appear churlish and discourteous if, when one occupying so exalted a station as the Pontiff of the most numerous church on earth had con-

descended to reason with the great communions of Christians who are not of his flock upon so momentous a theme as Christian unity, there should be no reason publicly given for not embracing his overtures. Such explanation is due to the gracious act of the illustrious Pontiff—still more due to ourselves and to the public in the face of a proposition of such grave importance.

Before attempting to state the difficulties which unhappily appear to inexorably forbid the cordial acceptance of the plan which your holiness proposes in order to heal the wounds in the body of Christ—if I may be allowed to speak as if we, too, did actually belong to His body—let me express my profound and unfeigned thanks that the momentous issues involved in this great contention are by your holiness referred to the arbitrament of reason. In reasoning with us you invite us to exercise our reason. In outlining for our consideration the grounds upon which the enormous claims of the Roman See are based, you invite us to weigh the evidence, to scrutinize the authorities cited; in short, to exercise our private judgment upon the tremendous issue whether or not the Roman Church is the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, and whether in that Church the supreme power is lodged in the Pontiff. For this recognition of the function of reason and the right and duty of private judgment we, as Protestants, are profoundly grateful. We understand, of course, that you confine the exercise of this right to the

scrutiny of the credentials of the Roman Church and of the authority and infallibility of her Pontiff; and that once convinced that she is the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, and that her Pontiffs are supreme and infallible, then the exercise of reason and private judgment is, in your view, at an end, and we must accept, without question or doubt, whatever is defined or decided by the Holy See. Or, to state it in the clear and unambiguous language of the encyclical, "as often as it is declared, on the authority of this teaching, that this or that is contained in the deposit of the divine revelation, it must be believed by every one as true." This, I repeat, we clearly understand, but we gratefully recognize the liberty which you concede us to submit the credentials of the Church and of the Pontiff to the bar of reason, untrammeled by authority, and summoning Scripture and history as witnesses in determining the issue.

But let me proceed, without further preface, to state some of the difficulties we find in the way of accepting the proposals of the encyclical.

1. The first concerns "the integrity of the faith," which your holiness urges upon our consideration as a matter of vital importance. Our difficulty is that "the faith" as presented for our acceptance by the Roman Church, is in various points different from, and contradictory to, "the faith" as contained in the Holy Scriptures and professed by the ancient fathers of the Catholic Church. Yet the encyclical assures us that "the

apostles and disciples" were commissioned by Christ to "faithfully hand down His teaching," and invites us to test the claims of the Church and its doctrines by the Scriptures and the ancient fathers. We are thus placed in a dilemma. We must either repudiate these doctrines of the faith of the Roman Church, as contrary to the Scripture and the ancient fathers of the Church, or in accepting the former we must repudiate the latter, and in so doing set ourselves against the decree of the Holy Council of Trent, which declared the Scriptures to be the inspired and infallible Word of God.

In illustration of my meaning I will mention but one out of many doctrines that are open to the difficulty just alleged. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, which was proclaimed by your revered predecessor, Pius IX., in the year 1854, and has since been an article of the Roman faith, binding on all her children, is one which we cannot discover any hint of in the Bible, which is not alluded to in any of the ancient creeds, and which is explicitly or implicitly denied by several of the greatest of the fathers, as St. Augustine and St. Bernard, and by the greatest of Roman Catholic divines, St. Thomas Aquinas, as well as by several of the Popes themselves. In the light of this fact, how could we accept the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and at the same time profess the creed of Pope Pius IV. (which as good Catholics we would be required to do), since it binds us

never "to take or interpret the Scriptures otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers?"

Your Holiness will surely sympathize with the difficulty which is raised by these two contradictory requirements.

2. Another very serious difficulty which rises up in the way of our accepting the terms of Christian unity proposed by the encyclical, relates to the privilege of Peter and the alleged transmission of the same to his alleged successors—the Roman pontiffs. It is declared that "it cannot be doubted from the words of Holy Writ that the Church, by the will of God, rests on St. Peter as a building on the foundation." But where in Holy Writ is there any such statement? When our Lord said, "On this rock I will build my Church," can we possibly believe that He referred to St. Peter in the face of the fact that in the Old Testament the title of Rock is reserved to God the Father, and in the New Testament to Christ Himself? To do so would be to contradict the solemn declaration of the holy apostle, St. Paul. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Should we not, then, rather interpret as St. Chrysostom does, and as many other ancient fathers do, "On this rock I will build my Church, that is, on the faith of his confession," viz., "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." To build on that faith is to build on Christ. Again, the encyclical alleges that

"many prerogatives were bestowed upon St. Peter, apart from the apostles," and among these is mentioned "the power of forgiving and retaining." But with the greatest deference, may we venture to point out to your Holiness, that this power of "forgiving and retaining" was bestowed upon all the apostles indiscriminately? (See St. John xx.) And further, may we respectfully invite attention to the extraordinary fact that there is not a jot or tittle of evidence in the entire New Testament that St. Peter ever pretended to, or ever exercised, the supreme powers and prerogatives which it is claimed were conferred upon him.

If St. Peter was the vicegerent of Christ, why did St. Paul presume to rebuke him, as he tells us he did? (Gal. ii. 11.) If he was supreme over the rest of the apostles why did not he, rather than St. James, preside in the first general council? (Acts xv.) And why did not he pronounce and promulgate the sentence of the council? Again, if St. Peter was the head ruler of the Church, why was he restricted to the apostleship of the circumcision—that is, of the Jews? (Gal. ii. 7, 8.) And why did St. Paul assume to teach and direct the Church in Rome itself? Why, too, does St. Paul claim equality with "the very chiefest of the apostles"? And then why does not St. Peter, in his epistles, make any allusion whatever to his possessing or exercising supreme authority in the Church? But is not the question closed by our blessed Lord's words, in which He forbade any

distinction of rank among His apostles? (Luke xxii. 24–26.)

Exercising our private judgment, then, as your Holiness invites us to do on the question of the primacy and supremacy of St. Peter over the Church, we are compelled to conclude that, so far as Holy Scripture is concerned, the doctrine you lay down seems to be destitute of any foundation, and to be, moreover, completely contradictory to the actual facts of the ecclesiastical government of the Church, as reflected in the New Testament.

It is true that our Lord used words to St. Peter that he used to none other of His apostles.[1] They were, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." But this promise was abundantly fulfilled in the fact that to St. Peter, brave and devoted leader that he was, was given the great and enviable privilege of first opening the doors of the Christian Church to the Jews on the day of Pentecost, and to the Gentiles in the case of Cornelius and his friends at a later period.

We observe that such a privilege was not in the nature of things transmissible to his successors; nor is there a syllable in the New Testament that indicates that whatever peculiar powers and privileges may have been his, he was to transmit them to those who succeeded him. Thus a great and insurmountable objection lies in the way of our submitting to the Roman pontiff as the alleged successor of St. Peter. If we open our

[1] See, however, this fact explained below, pp. 74 *seq.*

Bible, as your Holiness invites us to do, we find that there is no foundation in its pages for the claims set up either for St. Peter or his successors. Doubtless we will be told that we do not rightly interpret the Holy Scriptures upon this point of the privilege of Peter and his successors. But, though we are ready to acknowledge our fallibility as interpreters of Holy Writ, observe, we pray, the embarrassment of our position. The creed of Pope Pius IV., as above remarked, binds all good Roman Catholics "never to interpret the Scriptures otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers." But when we turn to the writings of the Fathers we do not find that they gave their "unanimous consent" to the interpretation of Holy Writ propounded by your Holiness in the encyclical upon this question. Far, indeed, from it. We find that the early Fathers generally assert the equality of all bishops. In particular, St. Cyprian declares that "the other apostles were, indeed, that which Peter was, endowed with equal consortship of honor and power;" St. Chrysostom, that St. Paul was "equal in honor" with St. Peter; St. Cyril, that St. Peter and St. John were "equal in honor to one another." St. Jerome, Dionysius, and Isidore affirm the same. As regards our Lord's words to blessed Peter, there appears great difference among the ancient Fathers as to their interpretation, and the weight of opinion is by no means with that given by your Holiness. Indeed, the great divines of the Roman

Church, the schoolmen, and the canonists do not agree in their exposition. That great and good Pope, Gregory the Great, differs from your Holiness and agrees with St. Chrysostom. Here are his words: "*In vera fide persistite, et vitam vestram in petra ecclesiæ, hoc est in confessione B. Petri Apostolorum principis, solidate.*"[1] If, then, we are so unfortunate as not to be able to see in that famous passage (St. Matt. xvi.) the proof that our Lord has built His Church "on Peter, as a building on its foundation," we derive consolation from finding ourselves in agreement with one of the best and most illustrious of the Popes, the great Gregory.

As regards the power of the keys, alleged by your Holiness as given to St. Peter alone, we cannot find here either "unanimous consent" on the part of the ancient fathers. St. Augustine holds this power to be identical with the power of "binding and loosing sins," which was undoubtedly given to all the apostles (John xx.). Whatever its origin, St. Jerome, Theophylact, and St. Chrysostom (not to name others) affirm that all the apostles received the same power.

As regards the commission to "feed" Christ's sheep, which the encyclical declares was given to Peter alone, there is no "unanimous consent" of the fathers upon this interpretation. Thus St. Cyril interprets them as a renewal of the former grant of apostleship, forfeited by his denial of

[1] Ep., Lib., iv. 38, p. 718.

the Lord. And St. Augustine, "When it is said to Peter, it is said to all, Feed my sheep." In the same sense teach St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, and St. Chrysostom. How great and insuperable then is the difficulty of accepting the proposal for unity which your Holiness puts forth in this encyclical! You call upon us to acknowledge the absolute supremacy of the Roman pontiff over our faith, over our consciences, over our conduct. Whatever doctrine he may from time to time declare "is contained in the deposit of revelation, it must be believed by every one as true." Whatever he may disallow must be refused, though all the bishops in the whole world agree in ordaining it. Whatever may be the accuracy and orthodoxy of our faith—though we should hold every doctrine, great and small, fully and heartily—we shall be nevertheless "placed outside the one fold," unless we submit to the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

In support of so tremendous a claim, so boundless an authority, you refer us to Holy Scripture and to the ancient Fathers. Accordingly, we reverently open the sacred volume, remembering blessed Peter's solemn caution against "wresting the Scriptures" to our "perdition." But we can find no support, but the contrary, in the volume of inspiration, for the awful powers and prerogatives which the Roman pontiffs claim. We are, therefore, shut up to the dilemma, from which we find no escape, either to reject these claims, on

pain of the anathema of the Holy See, or to accept them, against reason, against Scripture, against history, and on pain of blessed Peter's anathema upon those who "wrest the Scriptures" to "their own perdition." Should any of us, however, drawn by desire to be at unity with your Holiness and the great communion, of which you are the head, incline to take the awful risk of surrendering our reason and our faith to the dominion of the Holy See, contrary to the plain sense of Holy Scripture, we should find ourselves forsworn before God, because, when we should have declared, "Neither will I ever take or interpret the Scriptures otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers" (creed of Pius IV.), we should have actually submitted to an interpretation of the Scriptures which has no claim whatever to be supported by the "unanimous consent of the fathers."

But if we refuse to place ourselves in such a position, and choose, rather, to listen to the voice of Holy Scripture, as we understand it, and as so many of the best and holiest of the fathers have understood it, and so reject the proposals of the encyclical, believing that unity would be too dearly purchased at the cost of the approval of our own consciences and the stultification of our reason, and the extinguishment of the light of history, we may at least reflect that in so doing we are at one with that good man, Pope Gregory the Great. Here are his words, addressed to the

Bishop of Constantinople: "What wilt thou say to Christ the Head of the Universal Church, in the trial of the last judgment, who, by the appella- of 'Universal' (Bishop), dost endeavor to subject all His members to thee? Whom, I pray, dost thou mean to imitate in so perverse a word, but him who, despising the legions of angels constituted in fellowship with him, did endeavor to break forth unto the top of singularity, that he might both be subject to none, and alone be over all?" And again St. Gregory says: "I confidently say that whoever doth call himself universal bishop, or desireth to be so called, doth, in his elation, forerun Antichrist, because he proudly doth set himself before the rest."

We cannot but ask, What would Pope Gregory the Great have said to the titles now assumed by his successors, such as "the vicegerent of God," "the vicar of Christ on earth," whose "teachings should be received as if they were His own," and whom the whole episcopate must be "subject to" on pain of being considered "a lawless and disorderly crowd"?

3. Several other difficulties there are which I have space only to mention without enlarging upon. Why is it that, if this tremendous power was by Christ lodged with St. Peter and his successors, it was not so plainly and clearly stated that there could be no question about His meaning among honest Christians? Why did not the apostles declare it and expound it, being a doctrine

second to none in importance? Why did not St. Peter himself allude to it in his epistles? Why is it not embodied in the Catholic creeds of the Church? Why is it not explained or alluded to in any of the decrees of the general Councils of the Church? Why do none of the great doctors and divines of the Church, in all their extensive and elaborate treatises on divinity and on the faith of the Church, explain and defend it? Why did not the Popes, if they possessed these sovereign powers, not summon one of the six general Councils of the Church? Why did some of those Councils ignore the wishes of the Pope or decree contrary to them? Why was the papal authority never synodically defined until the Lateran Synod in the year 1215? Why was Papal infallibility (a doctrine of such overshadowing importance) never defined and promulgated until the Vatican Council of 1870? And why was there so much uncertainty on the subject prior to that council that a popular controversial catechism, approved and sanctioned by Bishops and an Archbishop, even taught that it was "a Protestant invention" to say that Catholics must believe the infallibility of the Pope?

4. But even these difficulties are not all. Could they be each one removed out of the way we should still remain in the greatest perplexity upon several points.

For example: We should have accepted the Roman pontiff as supreme, sovereign, and infallible, and yet we could not deny that various Popes

have shown themselves anything but infallible in matters of faith. History would still testify that Pope Liberius denied the divinity of Christ and anathematized St. Athanasius, the champion of orthodoxy; that Pope Honorius was condemned by a general council as a heretic, and was proclaimed by Pope Leo II. to be under the sentence of "eternal condemnation"; that Popes John XII., Benedict IX., Gregory VI., and John XXIII. were deposed by the Church. Our difficulty here is twofold. First, we cannot reconcile these historical facts with the doctrine of the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, to whom we are bidden to render obedience as the vicegerent of God and the vicar of Christ. And, second, we ask ourselves, suppose the next Pope should, like Pope Liberius, deny the divinity of our Lord and assure the flock of Christ that the doctrine of Arianism had been "contained in the deposit of divine revelation," as good Roman Catholics we should be obliged to believe this teaching, but at the same time we should know it to be contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the ancient creeds, and the teachings of the holy fathers of the primitive church. We find an insuperable difficulty in believing two contradictory propositions, or in comprehending how the dogma of infallibility is to be applied in the numerous cases in which different Popes have contradicted each other in matters of doctrine.

We may be told, indeed, that our difficulty arises from a misapprehension of the dogma of

papal infallibility, and this we will not deny. But we find that the great princes and doctors of the Church, the very Cardinals themselves, do not agree as to its scope and meaning. We observe that those two great Cardinals, Newman and Manning, held quite contrary opinions as to the extent and nature of the papal infallibility. Thus Cardinal Manning declared that the "syllabus of 1864 was part of the supreme and infallible teaching of the Church"; but Cardinal Newman was of opinion that it had "no dogmatic force" and made "no claim to be acknowledged as the word of the Pope." If these great leaders and theologians held such diametrically opposite opinions on this vital and tremendous doctrine, what hope can plain and unlearned folk have of ascertaining its true meaning? It seemed no doubt to many a great result and achievement to have at last secured absolute certainty of belief by accepting the infallibility of the pontiff. But if, after all, they cannot tell when he speaks with infallibility, or how far his teaching is infallible, how are they profited? Is not certainty as far off as ever? They may have cried "Eureka" as they grasped at last the dogma of infallibility, but after all it seems they have grasped a shadow. They have been like men pursuing the rainbow. The pot of gold may indeed lie at the rainbow's foot, but the rainbow forever retreats and eludes their grasp.

Deeply regretting that the great cause of

Christian unity does not seem to be advanced by the proposals of the encyclical,which are in substance only a summons to surrender at discretion, and praying that the time may come when Rome may use her great power and prestige to draw together the divided members of Christendom on some comprehensive basis of Scripture and antiquity, I am, reverend Pontiff, with great respect, yours very truly.

IV

WAS PETER THE ROCK?

I UNDERTAKE in the following pages to establish the correctness of my statements in the foregoing "Open Letter," and to illustrate them as occasion may require.

Let us begin with the great words of Christ, which are the alleged foundation of the Papacy. It has been asked above, "Should we not rather interpret as St. Chrysostom does, and as many ancient Fathers do, On this rock I will build my Church—that is, on the faith of his confession?"

In justification of this statement, let the following passages be considered:

St. Chrysostom:

1. Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τήν ἐκκλησίαν, τουτέστι, τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας. Hom. LIV, p. 548, A. Paris, 1727.

1. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church—that is, the faith of his confession."

2. Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρα, οὐκ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ πίστιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ᾠκοδόμησε. Chrys. Tom. V, Or. 163.[1]

2. "Upon this rock, he said, not upon Peter: for not on the man but upon his faith in Himself did He build His Church."

[1] Quoted by Bp. Barrow.

3. Contrasting the more perfect faith of Peter with that of Nathaniel, he says:

'Αλλ' ὡς ἀπηρτισμένης αὐτῷ τῆς πίστεως, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔφησεν ἐπὶ ὁμολογίαν οἰκοδομήσειν τὴν ἐκείνου. Hom. xxi, on John i. 50, p. 120, C.

3. "But as if his faith had been made perfect, he said he would build the Church upon his confession."

One of my critics[1] labors to break the force of this interpretation given by the great Bishop and Orator of Constantinople. He quotes several passages which show this Father's exalted opinion of the position and authority of Peter, as "the mouth of all the apostles, the summit of the whole college," and then he cries out that I have perverted history by a "partial citation."

But not all this can shake the fact which alone I alleged, that St. Chrysostom interpreted the Rock to mean *not* Peter but the confession which Peter made.[2] In challenging the interpretation given in Pope Leo's Encyclical, I quoted St. Chrysostom and St. Gregory the Great as supporting the view that the Church was not built upon Peter as the Rock, but upon Peter's Confession of the Divinity of Christ. No matter, therefore, what the views of these Fathers upon Peter's Primacy, their opinion upon the true interpretations of that famous passage stands. But, after

[1] Father Stafford.

[2] In placing St. Chrysostom in the category of those Fathers who interpret the Rock as not Peter but Peter's confession, we have the support of the learned Roman Catholic theologian, Rt. Rev. Dr. Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis. (See below.)

all, what was the view of the golden-mouthed orator of Constantinople upon the Primacy of Peter?

It is true he calls him "the mouth of the apostles" (τὸ στόμα τῶν ἀποστόλων), and again, "the coryphæus of the apostles" (τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖος). We do not deny that St. Peter was the leader and spokesman of the Apostolic College. That is a very different thing from being the "foundation" of the Church, or its absolute ruler, or its infallible head. My critic, however, alleges the following from St. Chrysostom: "He placed this man Peter over the whole world," and this again: "He set over it Peter, the doctor of the whole world, to whom he gave the keys of heaven, to whose will and power he trusted all things."

But this same Chrysostom elsewhere styles *St. John* "the Pillar of the Churches throughout the world" (ὁ στόλος τῶν κατὰ τῆν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν), and *St. Paul* he calls "the apostle of the world" (τῆς οἰκουμένης 'Απόστολος), who "had the care of the whole world" (ὁλοκλήρου τῆς οἰκουμένης φροντίδα ἔχων). Again, he contrasts St. Paul with Michael, to whom was committed the care of the Jewish nation, and says, "But Paul was entrusted with the earth and the sea and the inhabited and uninhabited parts of the world" (Παύλος δὲ γὴν, καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ τὴν ἀοίκητον).

If in one place he calls St. Peter "the teacher of the whole world" (τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλον. Hom.

88 on John, p. 527 B.), in another place he styles St. Paul "the Father of the whole world" (πατὴρ τῆς οἰκουμένης. De Laudib. Pauli. Hom. 3 [II, 490]).

Again, in his Commentary on the Galatians, speaking of St. Paul's visit to St. Peter after his conversion, he says:

Μηδὲν Πέτρου δεόμενος, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότιμος ὢν αὐτῷ· πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως. Epist. ad Gal., Cap. 1 [x. 677].

"He asked nothing of Peter, nor of his voice, being equal in honor with him—for I will not now say more," implying his superiority to Peter.

These passages demonstrate that the lofty titles given by this writer to St. Peter were not intended to exalt him to a pinnacle of authority and power over the other apostles, since titles to the full as high-sounding are by him conferred upon two other apostles. They also afford, inferentially, a criterion by which we may judge of the value of similar rhetorical exaggerations of expression in the Fathers generally.

St. Augustine:

1. Sermo CCXCV. In Natali Apost., p. 1194. Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam. Super hanc petram ædificabo, fidem quam confiteris. Super hoc quod dixisti, *Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi*, ædificabo ecclesiam meam.

1. "Upon this rock will I build my church. Upon this rock will I build, (that is) the faith which thou dost confess: upon this which thou hast said, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God*, I will build my church."

2. Again, in his 13th Sermon (not to quote other passages), Augustine says:

"Thou art Peter, and on this rock which thou hast confessed—on this rock which thou hast known, saying Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God—I will build my Church upon myself, the Son of the living God; *I will build it on Me and not Me on thee.*"

It is true that the great Bishop of Hippo was not always consistent with himself in his interpretation of the passage. He says of himself, writing in his old age: "When I was still a Presbyter, I wrote a book . . . in which I said in a certain place, concerning the apostle Peter, that the Church is founded on him as a rock. . . . But I know that I have afterwards, in very many places, so expounded the Lord's saying, 'Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build my Church,' as to be understood of Him whom Peter confessed. . . . And so Peter, named from this Rock, would typify the person of the Church which is built upon this Rock, . . . but of these two meanings let the reader choose the more probable." Commenting on this the Bishop of Manchester says: "The last word, then, of St. Augustine is this—that the Rock meant either Christ or Peter; and he thinks the matter so unimportant that he leaves it to each reader to select which of the two senses seems to him the more probable. The Rock is Christ or Peter; Peter's Chair it cannot be. The interpretation, if he ever held it, is abandoned."[1]

[1] See Charge of the Ven. Wm. M. Sinclair, D.D., Archdeacon of London (1896), p. 39.

A remarkable testimony was given as to this much disputed passage at the Vatican Council of 1870 by no less a prelate than the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Louis, Rt. Rev. Dr. Kenrick, in a speech prepared for, though not delivered in, the Council, but nevertheless published to the world. In it he quotes with approval a treatise which he says had been circulated in the Council, wherein it was shown that there were five distinct interpretations of St. Matt. xvi. 18 given by the Fathers, and draws two conclusions: *first*, that if we ought to follow the greater number of the Fathers in the interpretation of this passage, then we are bound to hold it certain that by the Rock we ought to understand not Peter but the Faith professed by Peter; and, *second*, that either no argument at all, or at least no probable argument, can be derived in support of the Primacy of Peter from the words, "Upon this Rock will I build my Church."

I give a part of the Archbishop's speech. It is enough fully to justify my statement that "many other ancient Fathers interpret the Rock to mean not Peter but Peter's confession." It will be observed that this learned writer finds several of the Fathers advocating now one, now another of the five interpretations; also that forty-four out of eighty-five Fathers examined interpret the passage as I have done, among them one of the Popes, Leo the Great, while only seventeen hold that Peter was the Rock; and finally that, since

Roman Catholics are bound to accept no interpretation of Scripture that is not supported by the *unanimous consent* of the Fathers, they cannot consistently build the primacy of Peter upon this passage.

Archbishop Kenrick:

"Invenimus quinque diversas interpretationes verbi 'Petra' in loco allata; 'quarum prima asserit,'—verba exscribo, 'super Petrum ædificatam ecclesiam,' quam sequuntur Patres septemdecim et inter istos Origenes, Cyprianus, Hieronymus, Hilarius, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Leo Magnus, Augustinus. Secunda interpretatio verba illa: 'super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam' intelligit, Ecclesiam ædificatam esse super omnes apostolos quos Petrus propter Primatum in se representabat. Et hanc sequuntur octo Patres et inter hos Origines, Cyprianus, Hieronymus, Augustinus, Theodoretus. Tertia interpretatio asserit verba illa: 'Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam' intelligenda esse de fide, quam Confessus erat Petrus, ut, scilicet, hæc fides, hæc professio fidei, qua credimus Christum esse Filium Dei vivi, sit æternum et immobile fundamentum Ecclesiæ. Et hæc interpretatio est omni-

"We find five different interpretations of the word 'Petra' in the place quoted, 'of which the first asserts'—I quote the words—'that the church is built upon Peter,' which opinion seventeen Fathers adopt, and among them Origen Cyprian, Jerome, Hilary, Cyril of Alexandria, Leo the Great, Augustine. The second interpretation understands those words 'upon this rock I will build my Church,' to mean that He would build His Church upon all the apostles whom Peter on account of his primacy represented in his own person. And this interpretation is followed by eight Fathers, and among them by Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret. The third interpretation asserts that those words 'Upon this rock I will build my church' are to be understood of the faith which Peter had confessed, to the end that this faith, this profession of faith whereby we believe Christ to

um solemnior, quam sequuntur Patres doctoresque quadraginta quatuor: et inter istos, ex Oriente, Gregorius Nissenus, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Chrysostomus, Theophylactus; ex Occidente, Hilarius, Ambrosius, Leo Magnus; ex Africa, Augustinus. Quarta interpretatio asserit, verba illa: 'super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam,'—intelligenda esse de illa petra, quam confessus fueret Petrus, *i.e.* Christum, ut scilicet Ecclesia inædificata sit super Christum; et hanc interpretationem sequuntur Patres doctoresque sexdecim. Quinta Patrum interpretatio nomine petræ intelligit etiam ipsos fideles, qui credentes Christum esse Filium Dei constituuntur lapides vivi, ex quibus ædificatur Ecclesia.

. . . . . .

"Ex hoc sequitur aut nullum omnino argumentum in probationem Primatus ex verbis 'super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam,' aut non nisi tenuiter probabile, suppiditari. . . . Si majorem numerum Patrum in hac re

be the Son of the Living God, might be the eternal and immovable foundation of the church. And this interpretation is of all others the most weighty, inasmuch as forty-four Fathers and doctors follow it; and among them, from the East, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Theophylact; from the West, Hilary, Ambrose, Leo the Great; from Africa, Augustine. The fourth interpretation asserts that those words 'Upon this rock I will build my church' is to be understood of that rock which Peter had confessed, *i. e.* Christ, to the end that the church may be built upon Christ; and this interpretation sixteen Fathers and doctors follow. The fifth interpretation of the Fathers understands by the name of the rock also the faithful themselves, who believing Christ to be the Son of God are constituted the living stones of which the church is built.

. . . . . .

"From this it follows either that no argument at all in proof of the primacy can be derived from the words 'Upon this rock I will build my Church,' or at least one of slender probability. . . . If we ought in this matter to

sequi debemus, tunc pro certo tenendum est per Petram, Fidem a Petro professam, non autem Petrum, fidem profitentem, intelligi oportere."

Concio Petri Kenrick archiepiscopi S. Ludovici. See Friedrich, *Documenta ad Illus. Conc. Vati.* Vol. I, p. 195, 196.

"Obvium est ex verbis 'Tu es Petrus,' &c., argumentum peremptorem in probationem etiam Primatus educi nequire." *Id.*, p. 198.[1]

follow the greater number of the Fathers, then it must be held for certain that by the Rock we ought to understand the Faith professed by Peter, not Peter who professed the Faith."

Address of Peter Kenrick, archbishop of St. Louis, prepared for the Vatican Council of 1870. See Friedrich, *Documents Illustrating the Vatican Council*, Vol. I, p. 195, 196.

Again: "It is obvious that from the words 'Thou art Peter,' &c., a conclusive argument in proof of the primacy cannot be drawn." *Id.*, p. 198.

[1] The Council of Trent itself declares that the "one and firm foundation against which the gates of Hell shall not prevail" is the Nicene Symbol of Faith.

V

PRELIMINARY PROPOSITIONS NECESSARY TO THE PAPAL CLAIMS

SO much may suffice for this famous passage which has been made the chief, if not the sole, Scriptural foundation upon which the stupendous structure of the Papacy has been reared—it would be more exact to say by which it has been defended. In the light of the facts now brought forward, it can no longer be claimed as a support for that system by any candid controversialist. The principle by which Rome has bound herself precludes her (as Archbishop Kenrick points out) from relying upon these words of Christ in defending herself—nay, compels her to reject that interpretation as untrue—and if she were consistent with herself the words which encircle the dome of St. Peter's:

"TU ES PETRUS, ET SUPER HANC PETRAM ÆDIFICABO ECCLESIAM MEAM,"

would long since have been erased.

But suppose the case were different, and it could be established that Peter was the rock on which Christ declared He would build His Church, would the Roman claim be thereby established?

This conclusion is often assumed, but it is far indeed from being true. There are several other propositions of the greatest importance which would have first to be established. Let me enumerate them:

1. In building His Church upon Peter, Christ made him the supreme head and ruler of the Church, to whom all the rest of the apostles and officers of the Church were to be subject.

2. These powers of jurisdiction and government were transmitted to the successors of St. Peter.

3. St. Peter was the bishop of Rome, and the Popes are his successors.

But not one of these propositions can be established either from Scripture or from the writings of the Fathers of the first four centuries. As to the first, as I have pointed out in the text of my Letter, no words of Christ can be alleged in its support. Pope Leo XIII's statement that various prerogatives were conferred upon Peter alone, in exclusion of the rest of the Apostles, is clean contrary to Holy Scripture. The power of forgiving and retaining, the commission to make disciples of all nations, the mission to feed Christ's sheep, the gift of the Holy Ghost—all these were conferred equally upon the other Apostles, as I have shown, and as the early Fathers testify. If Peter was singled out after the Resurrection for especial attention by the Lord in His instructions to the Eleven, it was because he, being the leader by

age and by temperament, had professed peculiar fidelity, and had been most conspicuous in his infidelity in the hour of trial. If the Lord thrice said to him, "Feed my sheep," he also, in plain allusion to his triple denial, thrice demanded of him, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" Now, it is further evident that if such powers had been conferred upon Peter there must have been (1) a clear statement of them—which we nowhere find, and (2) some evidence in the subsequent New Testament history of the exercise of these powers. But (as I have again shown above, there is no evidence whatever of Peter's having claimed or exercised such prerogatives, whereas there is evidence of the contrary. This being the case, it is not strange that none of my critics has made any attempt to meet the Scriptural argument upon this point—nor, indeed, has made any allusion to it.

As to the second proposition, viz., that these extraordinary powers and prerogatives were intended to pass to the successors of St. Peter, there is not a syllable in Holy Scripture that can by any ingenuity be made to support such a view, and I am not aware that the Roman controversialists attempt to bring forward any Scripture for this end. Certainly Pope Leo, in his Encyclical here considered, does not.

As to the third thesis, that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome and that the Popes are his successors, there appears to be no historical evidence that this

apostle ever was bishop of Rome. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (A.D. 180), says that St. Peter taught at Rome and suffered martyrdom there; but then he says the same thing of St. Paul, and neither fact establishes his episcopal jurisdiction in Rome. Tertullian's statement that Clement was ordained at Rome by Peter, not only fails to establish the fact that he was bishop of Rome, but is itself plainly a complete mistake, since Clement did not become bishop of Rome till A.D. 90, twenty-three years after St. Peter's death, which occurred A.D 67.

In truth, the first bishop of Rome was not Peter, but Linus, as is incontestably established by the testimony of Irenæus. Thus the whole theory of St. Peter's twenty-five years' Episcopate at Rome, when brought to the bar of historical investigation, collapses, and with it the Papal claim of inheritance of supreme power as his legitimate successors.[1]

It is interesting to compare the answer made by the Eastern Church to Pope Leo XIII. upon this point. It is found in the Patriarchal and Synodical Encyclical Letter addressed to the Metropolitans and Bishops by the Patriarch of Constantinople and his brethren,[2] in the month of August, 1895:

"When we refer back to the Fathers and to the Œcumenical Councils of the first nine centuries, we

[1] See Archdeaon Sinclair's Charge *ut supra*, pp. 33, 34.
[2] Published by John & E. Bumpus, Oxford St., London.

find that the bishop of Rome was never recognized as the supreme authority or as the infallible head of the Church; on the contrary, each bishop was the head and president of his own local church, being subject only to synodical decrees and to the decisions of the Church at large, which alone is infallible. From this general rule the bishop of Rome was least exempt, as the history of the Church shows, since the only everlasting Chief and the immortal Head of the Church is our Lord Jesus Christ; for 'He is the head of the body of the Church,' he who hath said to his divine disciples and apostles on his assumption into heaven, 'and lo, I am with you alway unto the end of the world.' Peter, whom the papists—on the strength of the Apocryphal Pseudo-Clementines of the Second Century—have purposely imagined to be the founder of the Roman Church and its first bishop,—Peter is seen in Scripture discussing as an equal with his equals of the apostolic Synod of Jerusalem. On another occasion he is bitterly reproached by Paul, as is manifest in the Epistle to the Galatians. . . . Such being the inspired teaching of the apostles, as regards the foundation and the head of the Church of God, it is but natural that the Divine Fathers, who are immediately connected with apostolic tradition, should have had and could have conceived no idea of an absolutistic supremacy either in the apostle Peter or in the bishops of Rome, nor could they attribute to the gospel text in question an interpretation wholly foreign to the Church, but only its true and orthodox meaning. They could not invent arbitrarily and of their own will a novel dogma, erecting upon a pretended succession to Peter an overbearing supremacy of the Roman bishop.

"This could be even less so, considering that the

Church of Rome was founded, not by Peter, of whose apostolic work in Rome history knows nothing, but mainly through the disciples of the heaven-soaring apostle of the nations, Paul, whose apostolic ministry in Rome is clear to all men" (pp. 7-9).

VI

PETER AND THE POWER OF THE KEYS

REFERRING to the power of the keys, the Papal Encyclical declares, "Thus the power of St. Peter is supreme and absolutely independent." And again, "Many (prerogatives) were bestowed upon St. Peter apart from the Apostles," among which are enumerated "the power of forgiving and retaining," and "the authority to feed." Such an assertion is completely overthrown by the New Testament record, which shows that these powers were conferred equally upon the other apostles. Thus in St. John xx. 23, we read that the Risen Lord said to the assembled Apostles:

"Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

As stated in the text of my Letter, the Fathers assert equality of power and authority among the apostles.

For example, the illustrious *Isidore*, Bp. of Seville (ob. A.D. 636).

Quoting Matt. xvi. 18, he proceeds:

"Hic ergo ligandi, solvendique potestatem primus accepit, primusque ad fidem populum virtute suæ prædicationis adduxit, siquidem et cæteri apostoli cum Petro pari consortio honoris et potestatis effecti sunt."

Isidori Hispalensis, De Ecc. Officiis II, Cap v., p. 456 (ed. of 1778).

"This man therefore first received the power of binding and loosing, and he first led the people unto faith by virtue of his preaching, since the other apostles also were clothed with a fellowship of honor and power equal to that of Peter."

Bishop Barrow quotes the following: [1]

St. Cyprian:

"Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædíti et honoris et potestatis." Again: "Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat." Cyp. de Un. Eccl. B., p. 93.

"Certainly the other apostles were that which Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship of honor and power." And: "After his resurrection, he distributes to all the apostles equal power."

St. Chrysostom:

"Δεικνὺς, ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἕκαστος ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας." Gall. ii. 8. (Of St. John) "ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν." Præf. Evan. Joh.

"Showing, that each one received the same dignity." "He (St. John) hath the keys of heaven."

He calls St. Paul ἰσότιμον αὐτῷ, "Equal in honor to him" (St. Peter).

St. Cyril:

"Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἰσότιμοι ἀλλήλοις."

"Peter and John equal to one another in honor."

[1] *Supremacy of the Pope*, p. 93 *seq.*

Theophylact:

"Εἰ γὰρ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἰρῆται, τὸ δῶσω σοι; Ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις δέδοται." In loco.

"Is it said to Peter alone 'I will give thee'? Nay, it is given also to all the apostles."

Origen:

"Ἆρα δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ μόνῳ, δίδονται ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου αἱ κλεῖδες τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τῶν μακαρίων αὐτὰς λήψεται; εἰ δὲ κοινόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους τὸ δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ πάντα τάτε προειρημένα, καὶ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ὡς πρὸς Πέτρον λελεγμένα;" Orig. on Matt. xvi.

"Are the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, then, given to Peter only? And shall none other of the blessed [apostles] receive them? But if the promise 'I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven' is common also to the others, why are not also all the things spoken before and following after as addressed to Peter?"

Abp. Kenrick, in his speech for the Vatican Council, quotes the following:

St. Augustine:

"'Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum,' tanquam ligandi et solvendi solus acceperit potestatem: cum et illud unus pro omnibus dixerit, et hoc cum omnibus tanquam personam generis ipsius unitatis acceperit; ideo unus pro omnibus, quia unitas est in omnibus." In Joann. Evang. cxviii., c. 4

"'I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,' as if he alone received the power of binding and loosing; since he, one speaking for all, made that confession, and so received this (promise) for all, as if he bore the person of their unity; therefore one for all, because the unityi si n all."

St. Ambrose:

"Tibi inquit, dabo claves regni cœlorum; et ut solvas et ligas . . . Quod Petro dicitur, apostolis dicitur." In Ps. xxviii. n. 37.

"To thee he says, 'I will give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and that thou mayst loose and bind.' . . . What he says to Peter, he says to the Apostles."

Bishop Jewel quotes the following (in the Latin version) from

St. Basil:

"Omnes [pastores et doctores] ex æquo et ligant, et absolvunt, quem ad modum ille [Petrus]." In Libello de Vita Solitaria, cap. 23 [II. 755]. See Jewel, vol. ii., p. 170.

"All pastors and teachers equally both bind and absolve in the same manner as he [Peter]."

And this from

St. Jerome:

"At dices, super Petrum fundatur ecclesia: licet id ipsum in allo loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant, et ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur." Adv. Jovinianum, lib. I. [iv. pt. 2, 168].

"But you say, the Church is founded upon Peter; although in another place that same (act of founding) is done upon all the apostles, and all receive the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and equally upon them is the strength of the Church imposed."

Compare

St. Augustine:

"Cum dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, 'Pasce oves meas.'" De Agone Christi, 30.

"When it is said to Peter, it is said to all, 'Feed my sheep.'"

and——

St. Chrysostom:

In Matt. Hom. lxxvii. p. 749 B.

"Ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου . . . οὐ πρὸς ἱερέας τοῦτο μόνον εἰρῆται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν καὶ μικρὸν, ἐμπεπιστευμένων ποίμνιον."

"Feed my sheep—this is not said to the hierarchy alone, but to each one of us to whom is entrusted even a little flock."

Dr. Littledale quotes the following from Cyril of Alexandria:

By this triple confession of blessed Peter, his sin, consisting of a triple denial, was done away, and by the words of our Lord, "Feed my sheep," a renewal, as it were, of the apostleship already conferred on him is understood to take place, removing the shame of his after fall and taking from him the cowardice of human frailty. (Comm. in Joann. xxi.)

"I conclude victoriously, with history, with reason, with logic, with good sense, and with a Christian conscience, that Jesus Christ did not confer any supremacy on St. Peter, and that the Bishops of Rome did not become sovereigns of the church, but only by confiscating, one by one, all the rights of the Episcopate."

VII

THE PRIMACY OF PETER

IN the foregoing pages it has been shown that neither in Holy Scripture nor in the ancient Fathers is there assigned to St. Peter the office of supreme head and ruler of the church, to whom universal jurisdiction and absolute power were committed by Christ. But it is not denied that that apostle was the leader among the apostles, their spokesman and representative, both by reason of age and of the ardent, active temperament he possessed, and that in this way he held a kind of primacy among them; the primacy of one who was *primus inter pares*. Accordingly, in my Letter to Pope Leo I have said: "To St. Peter, brave and devoted leader that he was, was given the great and enviable privilege of first opening the doors of the Christian Church to the Jews on the day of Pentecost, and to the Gentiles in the case of Cornelius and his friends at a later period." This was the view of Tertullian, who says St. Peter "did initiate the key" (ipse clavem imbuit) by first preaching the Gospel in Jerusalem after the Ascension. Gregory says that "Peter is not called the Universal Apostle" (Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur). And Ambrose, "Between Peter and Paul it is uncertain who was

placed first" (Inter Petrum et Paulum, quis cui præponatus, incertum est).

Bishop Jewel says:

"St. Peter in the old Fathers is diversely called the first, the chief, the top, the high honor of the Apostles; and in Eusebius and St. Augustine, προήγορος and *princeps apostolorum*. In which last words of Eusebius and St. Augustine, I must do thee, good reader, to understand, that *princeps* is not always taken for a prince, or governor endued with power, but oftentimes for the first man, or best of a company."

In the *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*—that splendid monument of his learning and ability—Bishop Jewel very tersely states the answer of the Anglican Church to the extravagant claims set up for St. Peter by the Roman theologians.

"Apostolos, ut Cyprianus ait, pari omnes inter se fuisse potestate; atque hoc idem fuisse alios, quod Petrus fuit: omnibus ex æquo dictum fuisse, 'Pascite'; omnibus, 'Ite in mundum universum'; omnibus, 'Docete evangelium'; et ut ait Hieronymus, Omnes episcopos, ubicunque tandem sint, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopolis, sive Rhegii, ejusdem esse meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii." *Works*, vol. iv., p. 17.

"We hold that the Apostles, as Cyprian says, were all equal one with another in power: that to all alike it was said, 'Feed'; to all alike, 'Go ye into all the world'; to all alike, 'Teach the Gospel'; and, as Jerome saith, wherever they may be, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, they are of the same dignity, of the same priesthood."

The force of the argument from Holy Scripture against the claims of the Papacy is felt by many Roman Catholic divines.

"That very late invention that Bishops receive their jurisdiction from the Popes, and are, as it were, his vicars, should be banished from Christian schools as unheard of for twelve centuries."—BOSSUET.

VIII

THE PRIMACY ANCIENTLY CONCEDED TO THE BISHOP OF ROME

LET it be clearly understood that we concede that the Bishop of Rome was anciently acknowledged to hold a primacy of honor. Bishop Jewel thus states the Anglican view:

"As for the rest, that the Bishop of Rome had an estimation and a credit and a prerogative before others, it is not denied. For of the four patriarchs, he had the first place, both in Council and out of Council; and therefore the greatest authority and direction of matters in all assemblies."

But two things are made abundantly clear upon investigation of the nature of that primacy: *first*, that it was yielded to the Bishop of Rome, not because he was supposed to be the successor of St. Peter, but because of the imperial dignity of the city of Rome, as the Capital of the World; and, *second*, that this primacy was one of honor,

rather than of power, and did not carry with it any concession of universal jurisdiction or supreme authority, much less of Papal infallibility. Upon these two points Antiquity speaks with no uncertain voice.

Decrees of Councils

1. The Council of Constantinople thus decreed (A.D. 381):

"Τόν μέν τοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ρώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ρώμην." (Canon III.)

"That the Bishop of Constantinople have the prerogative of honor next after the Bishop of Rome; for Constantinople is New Rome."

2. The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), the largest of the ancient councils, consisting of no less than 630 Fathers, decreed equal privileges to Constantinople with those hitherto enjoyed by Old Rome, at the same time declaring that the Primacy had by the Fathers been conceded to Rome, "because it was the Imperial City."

They said:

"Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα· καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι οἱ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα θεοφιλέσταοι ἐπίσκοποι, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλείᾳ καὶ

"For the Fathers properly gave the Primacy to the throne of the Elder Rome, because that was the imperial city. And the 150 most religious bishops, being moved with the same intention, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of new Rome, judging, with reason, that the city

συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν." Canon xxviii.

which was honored with the sovereignty and senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with the elder royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in ecclesiastical matters, being the second after her." Canons of first four General Councils. Jas. Parker and Co., Oxford, 1874, p. 72.

Pope Leo XIII. declares that this 28th Canon is "worthless," because "it lacks the assent and approval of the Apostolic See." But the fact remains that this great Œcumenical Council was of opinion that the precedency enjoyed by Rome was not a divinely given prerogative, but a privilege conferred on her by the Council, and not because of her Bishop being St. Peter's successor, but because Rome was the Imperial City. The Canon moreover was unanimously adopted, and has never ceased to be acknowledged as authoritative by the whole Eastern Church. And further, Pope Leo the Great acknowledged the orthodoxy of the Council and warmly praised its decisions. How, then, could so great and learned and orthodox a Council be in ignorance of the existence of the Papal supremacy and of its divine origin?

In the Encyclical of the Patriarchs of the Holy Eastern Church already quoted, this Canon is quoted with the following comment:

"From this Canon it is manifest that the Bishop of Rome is only equal in honor to the Bishop of the

Church of Constantinople, and in no Canon, nor in any of the Fathers, is it hinted that the Bishop of Rome is alone head of the Church at large, or infallible judge of the Bishops of the other independent and autocephalous churches, or successor of the Apostle Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth." *Ut supra.*

I call attention next to

The Silence of the Fathers.

A very able and learned writer makes the following assertion:

"Of all the Fathers who interpret these passages in the Gospels (Matt. xvi. 18, John xxi. 17) *not a single one applies them to the Roman Bishops as Peter's successors.* How many Fathers have busied themselves with these texts, yet not one of them whose commentaries we possess—Origen, Chrysostom, Hilary, Augustine, Cyril, Theodoret, and those whose interpretations are collected in Catenas—has dropped the faintest hint that the Primacy of Rome is the consequence of the commission and promise to Peter! Not one of them has explained the rock or foundation on which Christ would build His church or the office given to Peter to be transmitted to his successors."[1]

The same is true of that other passage, St. Luke xxii. 32, which the papal apologists allege in support of their cause. Our Lord said to Peter, foreseeing his denial and downfall, "I have

[1] *The Pope and the Council*, p. 74.

prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." This they interpret to be a promise of supreme jurisdiction and power to Peter and his successors. But "no single writer to the end of the seventh century dreamt of such an interpretation; all without exception—and there are eighteen of them—explained it simply as a prayer of Christ that His apostle might not wholly succumb, and lose his faith entirely on his approaching trial. The first to find in it a promise of privileges to the Church of Rome was Pope Agatho in 680." *Id.*, p. 75.

Let the advocates of the papal claims answer the following questions:

1. Why is it that St. Augustine in his controversy with the Donatists never brought forth this mighty weapon of the papal power, if there was any such weapon then found in the armory of the Church? If union and communion with, and subjection to, the Roman See were held then to be essential to Catholicity, as Pope Leo now affirms, why did this great writer, in treating of the Unity of the Church, and in arguing at length with the Donatists against their separation from the Church, never in all his seventy-five chapters say one single word upon the subject?

2. Why did Pope Pelagius I., praising St. Augustine for his services in the cause of Unity, make no allusion to any exclusive privilege of the See of Rome, but refer rather to "the divine

doctrine which places the foundation of the Church in the Apostolical *Sees*," and to the fact that "they are schismatics who separate themselves from the communion of these Apostolical Sees," viz., Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem?

3. Why is it that in the treatise of the Ancient Fathers upon the hierarchy of the Church, there is no mention made of the papal office as the highest of all? Even as late as A.D. 631, "the famous Spanish theologian Isidore, of Seville, describes all the grades of the hierarchy, and divides Bishops into four ranks,—Patriarchs, Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Bishops," making no mention of the Pope as distinct from the Patriarchs.

4. Why is it that St. Jerome (Ep. cxxv. 15), when enforcing on monks the duty of submission to one head "by the instinctive habits of beasts, bees, and cranes, the contentions of Esau and Jacob, of Romulus and Remus, the oneness of an emperor in his dominions, of a judge in his province, of a master in his house, of the pilot in a ship, of the general in an army, of the Bishop, the archpresbyter, and the archdeacon in a Church,"—in the very place where, on the Roman theory, we should look for the crown of the argument in the one universal Bishop, makes no mention of any such head as existing?[1]

5. Why is it that the records of the first four

[1] J. C. Robertson, *History of Christian Church*, vol. i., p. 436, note.

General Councils contain no decree, no canon, no recognition in any form of the supremacy of the Popes of Rome? Had it been recognized and accepted by the Church, is it conceivable that it would have left no impress upon the acts and proceedings of those great œcumenical assemblages?

6. Why did the churches of the East pay no regard whatever to the acts of excommunication issued (severally) by Innocent I. and Felix III. in the fifth century?

7. Why did the General Council of the African Churches, A.D. 419, decree that if any one should appeal from the judgment of the African Bishops to Rome he should be excommunicated?

Positive Patristic Evidence.

The famous correspondence between Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea, and Stephen, Bishop of Rome, furnishes evidence incontestable that the Roman Bishops in that age exercised no power or jurisdiction over other Bishops; in other words, that the Papacy had not then been established. The then Pope, in the middle of the third century, began to put forth claims of jurisdiction, which were at once indignantly rejected by his fellow Bishops. Firmilian, writing to Cyprian about Stephen, says: "I am justly indignant at this so open and manifest folly of Stephen, that he who boasts of the place of his

Episcopate, and contends that he holds the succession from Peter, on whom the foundations of the Church were laid, should be doing as he does."

The practice of rebaptizing reclaimed heretics had been approved by two successive Councils at Carthage (A.D. 255, 256). Gieseler says:

"The latter of these Councils having informed Stephen, Bishop of Rome, of their decision in a formal letter (Ep. Cyp. 72), received from him a haughty answer refusing to submit to it. This led to a violent controversy between Stephen and Cyprian. The former broke off all communion with the African Churches, but this did not prevent their repeating the former decision in the most express terms at a third Council, held in Carthage (A. D. 256). Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, assured them (Epist. Cyp. 75) of the entire assent of the Churches in his province, accompanying his letter with bitter vituperations against Stephen, whilst Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, plainly condemns the course Stephen had pursued." (Vol. i., p. 165.)

Mosheim, commenting upon this, says: "If any one after reading the language held by the Africans and the Bishops of Rome can still maintain that the Roman prelates in that age had any power or jurisdiction over other Bishops, such a person must either be beyond measure obstinate, or vehemently in love with opinions imbibed in his childhood." St. Augustine, nearly two centuries later, held the Africans justified in

rejecting the decision of Pope Stephen, for which opinion the great Bishop of Hippo is roundly rebuked by Bellarmine (De Eccles., i. 4).

Archdeacon Sinclair quotes the following from a letter addressed by Bishop Firmilian to Pope Stephen: "While you think that all may be excommunicated by you, you have excommunicated yourself alone from all." And this from St. Cyprian's speech at the Council of Carthage: "Neither does any of us set up to be a Bishop of Bishops, nor by tyrannical power does any compel his colleagues to the necessity of obedience, since every Bishop, according to the allowance of his liberty and power, has his own proper right of judgment and can no more be judged by another, than he himself can judge another."[1] *Ut supra*, p. 36.

St. Jerome.

The only authority that can be cited among the Fathers of the first four centuries on behalf of the papal claims (other than the Popes themselves) is that of this powerful and learned man. When a young man, he penned a letter to Pope

[1] The papal controversialists vainly seek to break the force of Cyprian's testimony above by quoting the letter of that Father to Pope Stephanus in the case of Marcianus, Bishop of Arles, but, as is pointed out by an eminent R. C. writer, Cyprian did no more than write to the Bishop of Rome, "as being his brother and colleague, who, by reason of his propinquity, might more easily know and judge of the whole matter." See the case fully discussed by Barrow, *The Pope's Supremacy*, pp. 351–353.

Damasus (A.D. 376) in which occurs the following passage:

"As I follow no leader but Christ, so I communicate with none but your blessedness—that is, with the Chair of Peter. For this I know is the Rock on which the Church is built, this the house where alone the Paschal Lamb can be rightly eaten. This is the Ark of Noah, and he who is not found in it shall perish when the flood prevails (Ep. xv)."

Commenting upon this the Bishop of Manchester says:

"Amongst all the writings of the Fathers of the first four centuries this passage stands absolutely alone. It seems to imply that as a heedless young man, St. Jerome held that none could be in the Catholic Church without holding communion with Rome. Much excuse, however, is to be made for its author. He had just come from Rome, and had been living in the quiet atmosphere of its stately and immovable orthodoxy. All at once he finds himself plunged at Antioch into the perplexities of theological speculation and the turbulence of party strife. . . . Which party should he join? Tormented by his doubts and difficulties, he determines to take part with none of them but to fall back on the communion of that Church in which he had received baptism. For *him* assuredly that Church was the true Church, and it may well have seemed to him in his distress that nowhere else could he find the true ark and house of the Paschal Lamb. If he

meant more than this by his large and vague phrases, it is certain that later in life he changed his opinions."

In proof of this assertion it is enough to cite his language at a period when the Roman claims began to be put forward by Pope Innocent I. The practice prevailing at Rome had been cited in favor of an abuse, whereupon St. Jerome wrote:

"Et Gallia, et Britannia, et Africa, et Persis, et Oriens, et India, et omnes barbaræ nationes unum Christum adorant: unam observant regulam veritatis. *Si authoritas quæritur*, orbis major est urbe. Ubicunque fuerit Episcopus, [sive Romæ,] sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, [sive Rhegii,] sive Alexandriæ, . . . ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est sacerdotii. . . . Cæterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt. . . . Quid mihi profers unius nobis consuetudine?" Ad Evangelum [iv., pt. 2, pp. 803]. Jewel, iv., p. 381.

"Both Gaul, and Britain, and Africa, and Persia, and the East, and India, and all barbarous nations, adore one Christ, observe one rule of truth. *If you ask for authority*, the world is greater than a city. Wherever there shall be a bishop [whether at Rome], or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople [or at Rhegium], or at Alexandria, . . . they are of the same dignity, of the same priesthood. . . . But all are successors of the Apostles. . . . Why do you bring forward to me the custom of one city"—(viz., Rome)?

The man who wrote these words cannot honestly be quoted as an authority for the Papacy. He asserts the equality of all Bishops. He refuses to admit the claims of one city (Rome) to dominate the Universal Church. And elsewhere he affirms that the Church is founded equally upon all the Apostles.

The History of the First Six General Councils Inconsistent with the Roman Claims.

Observe the following particulars:

1. Not one of the first six Œcumenical Councils of the Church Catholic was summoned by the Pope of Rome. 2. One of them, the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, was summoned in the face of the protest of Pope Leo I. 3. None of them was presided over by a Pope, though in one case, the 2d Council of Constantinople, A.D. 553, the Pope, Vigilius, was in the city at the time. 4. The decrees of the Council of Nicæa were promulgated at once without waiting for the confirmation of the Pope. 5. The 5th General Council strongly censured Pope Vigilius. 6. The 6th General Council (A.D. 680) declared Pope Honorius I. a heretic, and anathematized him. (Every successive Pope for hundreds of years repeated this anathema.)[1] Let any candid man say whether these six facts are consistent with the supposed recognition at that period, or down to A.D. 680, of the Papal supremacy. Contrast with this record the story of the Vatican Council of 1870, still fresh in our memory.

[1] Father Stafford's reply to my allegation of the heresies of some of the Popes is sufficiently naïve. He says: "You may call Popes heretics, but that does not make them such." But does the solemn pronouncement of a General Council "make them such"? Do the anathemas of his successors in the Papal chair for 300 years suffice to declare Pope Honorius a heretic? If Father Stafford denies this, he has denied the Vatican faith and is worse than a Protestant!

Other Conciliar Acts of Similar Significance.

1. The Churches of the East continued in communion with Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, and Atticus, Patriarch of Constantinople, notwithstanding the fact that Pope Innocent I. had excommunicated them.

2. The General Council of the African Churches decreed excommunication against any who should appeal from the judgment of the African Bishops to those beyond the seas, namely, to Rome. (A.D. 419.)

3. The Bishops of Africa, in council assembled, excommunicated Pope Vigilius, A.D. 548.

4. The Council sent a letter to Pope Boniface I., repudiating his jurisdiction, and condemning his course as an unwarrantable assumption of authority. This letter bore the signature of St. Augustine.

Will it be pretended, except by brazen-faced effrontery itself, that the Bishops, the Churches, the Councils who acted thus, recognized the supremacy of the Papal Chair?

Alleged Power of Popes to Confirm or Rescind Decrees of Councils.

But his Holiness Leo XIII. tells the Christian world in his Encyclical that "the Popes have ever unquestionably exercised the right of ratifying or rejecting the decrees of Councils." Let us bring this statement to the bar of history. Note

then the following facts: 1. Not one of the first four General Councils contains any decree, or canon, or recognition in any form of any such right. 2. The decrees of the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325), the most famous and momentous of them all, were promulgated at once without any question of Papal confirmation. 3. The Council of Chalcedon (summoned in spite of the protest of the Pope) proposed to bestow, as we have seen, privileges on the Bishop of Constantinople equal to those enjoyed by the Bishop of Rome, whereupon the Pope's legates earnestly resisted and clamored against it; but all this had no effect upon the Council. The decree was, with general concurrence, adopted and subscribed by the imperial Commissioners and all the bishops. 4. Pope Leo the Great inveighed fiercely against this decree, and used his utmost efforts to prevent its taking effect. But all to no purpose; for the bishop of Constantinople in all the succeeding Councils occupied the place assigned him by the said decree, and the Popes were compelled finally to acquiesce. 5. General Councils did not hesitate to censure, to rebuke, to anathematize, to depose Popes, and these acts of theirs became effective, certainly without the ratification of the Popes in question. 6. Even Provincial Councils did not hesitate to excommunicate the Pope, *e. g.*, Pope Vigilius by an African Council, A.D. 548.

What, then, is the ground in history for the statements of Pope Leo XIII.? This and this

only: It was the custom of all Councils, with a view to giving added weight and authority to their decisions, to ask the consent thereto of all Catholic bishops who were absent from them; of *all*, observe, and not only of the Bishop of Rome. Thus the Emperor Constantine asked the assent of all bishops to the Nicene decrees. Thus the Council of Sardica wrote to the whole Episcopate: "Do ye also, our brethren, and fellow-ministers, the more use diligence, as being present in spirit with our synod, to yield consent by your subscription, that concord may be preserved everywhere by all the fellow-ministers." Many examples of similar requests for confirmation of the decrees of Councils could be given. It goes without saying that the assent and confirmation of so eminent and powerful a bishop as the bishop of Rome was most earnestly desired and was held of very great importance.

Leo XIII. alleges three instances of Popes rescinding the acts of Councils. But the question is not what the Popes assumed to do—what power they laid claim to—what authority they usurped; but what rights and powers they were acknowledged to possess. Pope Leo the Great undertook to rescind the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, as we have seen. He wrote of them: "*We make (them) void, and by the authority of the blessed apostle St. Peter, by a general determination we disannul.*" But the decrees thus disannulled by the Bishop of Rome stood and were carried into

effect, as we have seen, and Rome itself was compelled to acquiesce in them.

In further illustration of the independence of General Councils of the confirmation of their decrees by the Pope, let any one read the Letter of the Synod of Constantinople (A.D. 381) to the Emperor Theodosius the Great. The Fathers say: "We pray therefore your clemency, that the decree of the Synod may be confirmed, that as you have honored the Church by the letters of citation, so also you may set your seal to the conclusion of what has been decreed." On Leo XIII.'s theory this petition should have been presented not to the Emperor but to the Pope.

"History is neither [Roman] Catholic, nor Anglican, nor Calvinistic, nor Lutheran, nor Armenian, nor Schismatic, Greek, nor Ultramontane. She is what she is."

IX

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPACY

THE papal power was gradually developed, and it is not difficult to trace the principal steps of its development.

First Step. The influence of the pseudo-Clementine Letters and Homilies, a forgery probably of the middle of the second century. These writings profess to be from the hand of Clemens Romanus, who writes to James after the death of Peter, and states that the latter shortly before his death appointed the writer his successor. Here we have the origin of the story, repeated by Tertullian, that Clement was ordained bishop of Rome by St. Peter. The bishop of Manchester is of opinion that "the whole early persuasion of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate 'was due' to the acceptance in the third and following centuries of the Clementine fiction as genuine history. . . . No one had any suspicion that the Clementine romance was a lie invented by a heretic. The story was accepted on all sides."

With this view coincides the Encyclical Letter

of the Holy Orthodox Church of the East already referred to: "Those absolutistic pretensions of Popedom were first manifested in the Pseudo-Clementines."

Second Step. The action of the Council of Sardica (A.D. 343) in giving a right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome on the part of any bishop who considered himself unjustly condemned. This led to the consolidation of power in the hands of the bishop of Rome, although the decree of the Council was not accepted by the Churches of Africa or the East.

Third Step. The decree of the Emperor Valentinian I., that all ecclesiastical cases arising in churches in the Empire should be henceforth referred for adjudication to the bishop of Rome.

Fourth Step. The appeals provided for by the Council of Sardica and by the decree of Valentinian were voluntary appeals; but Pope Nicolas I., in the ninth century, set up the claim that, with or without appeal, the bishop of Rome had an inherent right to review and decide all cases affecting bishops.

Fifth Step. The forged Isidorian Decretals, which pretended to be a series of royal orders, and letters of ancient bishops of Rome, represented that primitive Christianity recognized in the bishops of Rome supreme authority over the Church at large. They became a strong buttress and bulwark of the vast powers now claimed by the Popes in the person of Nicolas I.

" To fear history is to own yourself conquered; and moreover, if you made the whole of the waters of the Tiber to pass over it, you would not cancel a single page."

X

THE ISIDORIAN DECRETALS

THIS huge fabrication arose about the middle of the ninth century in Western Gaul. It consists of a large number (about one hundred) of pretended decrees of about thirty successive Popes in the first three centuries, together with certain other spurious documents of Councils, and had for its object the protection of bishops against their Metropolitans, and against the civil authorities, by magnifying the power of the Pope, and throwing it as an ægis around the persons of the bishops. Nicolas I., the then Pope, was quick to avail himself of these Decretals in support of the scheme of papal aggrandizement. Upon them was built the novel pretension that the decrees of every Council require papal confirmation, and the further claim that the Pope was supreme in matters of faith, since he was the universal bishop, all other bishops being his servants; and thus the whole system of the Church was revolutionized, the original equality

of power among bishops being abolished, and, in its stead, the despotism of the Popes set up. "On these Decretals were founded the pretensions of the Popes to universal sway in the Church, whilst the pretended *Donatio Constantini*, a fiction of an earlier time, but adopted into them, was the first step in their advance to temporal power."[1] Their consummate flower appeared two centuries later, when Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.) declared at his Roman Synod: "We desire to show the world that we can give or take away at our will kingdoms, duchies, earldoms—in a word, the possessions of all men; for we can bind and loose." The verdict of the Greek patriarchs (already alluded to) is fully justified by history: "Those absolutistic pretensions of popedom, which were first manifested in the Pseudo-Clementines, were matured exactly at this time of Nicolas I., in the so-called Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which are a mass of spurious and counterfeit royal orders and letters of ancient bishops of Rome, whereby, contrary to historical truth, and to the established government of the Church, it was purposely put forth that primitive Christianity accorded to the bishops of Rome unbounded authority over the Church as a whole" (*ut supra*, p.). It remains only to add that the divines and scholars of the Roman Church now fully admit the spurious and counterfeit nature of these Decretals—while clinging tena-

[1] Gieseler.

ciously to the principles thus fraudulently foisted upon the Church, and to the dogmas which have been built upon this foundation of wood, hay, and stubble, and not upon the Rock, Jesus Christ and His authority.[1]

[1] Hallam says: "Upon these spurious Decretals was built the great fabric of Papal supremacy over the different national churches, a fabric which has stood after its foundation crumbled beneath it; for no one has pretended to deny, during the last two centuries, that the imposture is too palpable for any but the most ignorant ages to credit."

XI

IRENÆUS, BISHOP OF LYONS (ob. A.D. 202)

A PASSAGE from this writer is sometimes quoted in support of the Roman claims. It is found in the third book of Irenæus *Against Heresies* (chapter iii.), of which only the Latin version has come down to us, the original (Greek) having perished. He has been refuting the Gnostics by an appeal to Holy Scripture, and also to the "tradition which originates from the Apostles," which, he says, was committed to the Churches "throughout the whole world." He proceeds as follows:

"Since, however, it would be very tedious to reckon up the successions of all the churches, we do put to confusion all those who . . . assemble in unauthorized meetings by indicating that tradition derived from the Apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church, founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul."

Then follows the sentence in which it is alleged that Irenæus maintained that it was "a matter of necessity that every church *should agree with*

this Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority." That, however, is a mistranslation of his words. I give in the Latin the crucial clause, with a translation from a candid Roman Catholic writer of the whole sentence:

"Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter potiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam." "For to this Church, on account of more potent principality, it is necessary that every church *resort;* in which church ever *by those who are on every side* has been preserved that tradition which is from the Apostles." (Berington and Kirk, vol. i., p. 252. Quoted by Bishop Coxe. See *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 1885, vol. i., p. 415.)

Thus it appears that Irenæus cites the Roman Church, because, since on account of its being seated at the capital of the world, the faithful from all parts of the world must needs resort thither, in it the universal tradition of the apostles would best be preserved. The Roman Church, being the Metropolitan Church, thus caught and focalized the rays of testimony concerning apostolic tradition from the churches all over the world. Doubtless this was true when Irenæus wrote within, say, sixty or seventy-five years of the apostolic age. It would be less and less true as time elapsed, and ancient oral tradition became dimmed or adulterated.

How far Irenæus was from recognizing any dogma of Papal Infallibility may be seen from

the fact that he did not hesitate to rebuke Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, for his Montanist heresy, and later to remonstrate with Victor, another Bishop of Rome, for disturbing the peace of the Church.

Moreover Irenæus did not recognize St. Peter as first Bishop of Rome. He has left us, in his third book against Heresies, Chap. iii., a list of the Bishops of Rome, which differs in this vital point with the Roman list.

Irenæus:	*The Roman Almanack:*
1. Linus.	1. St. Peter.
2. Anacletus.	2. St. Linus.
3. Clement.	3. St. Anacletus.
4. Evaristus.	4. St. Clement.
&c.	&c.

XII

ST. CYPRIAN ON THE EQUALITY OF BISHOPS

BUT the authority of Cyprian is appealed to in behalf of the Roman claim that the Church is built upon Peter and that there can be no unity except through the Chair of Peter. Father Stafford in his second reply to my Letter to Leo XIII. quotes at length a passage from this Father in support of that position. But he has quoted (innocently, no doubt) from a vitiated and interpolated copy.

"Cyprian [says the late Bishop Coxe] has been doctored in order to bring him into shape capable of being misinterpreted. But you will say, Where is the proof of such interpolations? The greatly celebrated Benedictine Edition reads as the interpolated column does, and who would not credit Baluzius? Now note, Baluzius refuted these interpolations and others; but dying (A.D. 1718) with his work unfinished, the completion of the task was assigned to a nameless monk, who confessed that he corrupted the work of Baluzius, or rather glories in the exploit."—*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. v., p. 558.

I give in parallel columns, first, the true rendering of the passage, next, the original with interpo-

lations indicated, and place in a note the quotation as Father Stafford cites it:

"The Lord speaks to Peter, saying, 'I say unto thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' And again to the same He says, after His resurrection, 'Feed My sheep.' And although to all the apostles after His resurrection, He gives an equal power and says, 'As the Father hath sent Me, even so I send you; receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted unto him; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained; yet, that He might set forth unity, He arranged, by His authority, the origin of that unity as beginning from one. Assuredly the rest of the apostles were also the same as was Peter, endowed with a like partnership both of honor and power; but the beginning proceeds from unity. . . . Does he who does not hold

"Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum *Ego tibi dico*, inquit, *quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferorum non vincent eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum; et quæ ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in cœlis; et quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in cœlis.* Et iterum eidem post resurrectionem suam dicit, *Pasce oves meas.* [Super illum unum ædificat ecclesiam suam, & illi pascendas mandat oves suas.][1] Et quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat & dicat, *sicut misit me pater et ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum sanctum, si cujus remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi, si cujus tenueritis, tenebuntur,* tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædíti & honoris & potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur. . . . Hanc ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit? Qui ecclesiæ renititur & resistit, [qui cathe-

[1] The passages above placed in brackets are interpolations.

this unity of the Church think that he holds the faith? Does he who strives against and resists the Church, trust that he is in the Church?"[1]

dram Petri, super quem fundata est ecclesia, deserit,] in ecclesia se esse confidit?"[2] —Cypriani opera. Paris 1726, pp. 194–5.

These interpolations, so cleverly introduced, completely reverse the teaching of Cyprian, and make him in this passage contradict his other writings, and, what is more, the whole tenor of his life and conduct, especially in the famous case of his controversy with Pope Stephen, referred to above. One must scrutinize very closely quotations from the ancient Fathers in the pages of Roman Catholic controversialists. It is by no

[1] See the passage and interpolations quoted by Gieseler, vol. i., p. 154, note.

[2] Father Stafford quotes as follows: [*Upon him (Peter) alone He built His Church, and ordered him to feed his sheep*], and altogether after his resurrection, He gave similar powers to all the apostles. Nevertheless that He might manifest unity, [*He established one chair,*] and by His authority disposed that the origin of that unity should be derived from one. The other apostles were certainly that which Peter was, united in an equal society of honor and power. But the beginning takes its course from unity. [*The Primacy is given to Peter that the Church may be shown one and the chair one. They are all shepherds but the flock is shown to be one, which is fed with unanimous consent by all the apostles.*] Does he believe that he holds faith, who does not hold to this unity of the Church? Does he believe that he is in the Church who withstands and resists the Church [*who deserts the chair of Peter, upon which the Church is founded*]? St. Cyp., *De Un. Ec.*

N. B.—All the passages italicized and bracketed by me are interpolations. The first and third of these do not appear in the Paris edition of 1726, from which I copy the quotation in the text above.

means uncommon to find doubtful, spurious, or forged writings of the Fathers quoted as genuine.[1] This is not surprising when one remembers the history of the spurious Clementines and the forged Isidorian Decretals, both of which played such an important part in the development of the Papacy—indeed, constituted its chief support in antiquity—which were at the time believed to be genuine, but which are now acknowledged to have been forgeries by all well-informed Roman controversialists. One recalls also the French New Testament, printed at Bordeaux in 1686 (a copy of which can be seen in the British Museum), put forth with archiepiscopal approval, in which are to be found such audacious alterations of Holy Scripture as the following: 1 Cor. iii. 15 is rendered, "He himself shall be saved, yet in all cases as *by the fire of Purgatory*"; and 1 Tim. iv. 1 is rendered, "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter days some will separate themselves from the *Roman* faith."

It has been pointed out that had Cyprian held the Roman view of the Hierarchy, he must have maintained, *first*, that the power of the keys had been given to Peter; *second*, that to the rest of the Apostles he gave an inferior and subordinate authority; *third*, that the See of Rome has inherited the Petrine supremacy over all other Sees and churches; *fourth*, that the Unity of the Church

[1] See illustrations of this quoted by Littledale, *Plain Reasons*, etc., pp. 130–137.

can only be maintained by preserving this supremacy of the Roman See; and, *finally*, that Stephen, Bishop of Rome, was supreme above all other Bishops, and that, were all the Apostles but Peter then alive, they would be subject to him. But what Cyprian did actually maintain in his treatise on the Unity of the Church was (1) that the Apostle Peter received the first grant of the power of the keys, so that the origin of the Church was in him, but (2) that afterwards the very same honor and power were conferred upon the rest of the Apostles; (3) that all Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, had coequal power and authority; and (4) that Stephen, Bishop of Rome, had no dominion over his brother Bishops of other Sees.[1]

Cyprian's maxim, "Ecclesia in Episcopo," then, has no affinity with the maxim on which the Church of Rome stands to-day, "Ecclesia in Papa"; but is radically and irreconcilably opposed to it. The *Constitutional Primacy* which he conceded to the Bishop of Rome had nothing in common with the *Absolutism* which in late ages was built up upon the foundation of the spurious Isidorian Decrees.[2] It may be difficult to be

[1] See *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. v., pp. 557–8.

[2] Gieseler, writing of the Ante-Nicene period says: "Great stress was laid on the perfect equality of all Bishops, and each in his own diocese was answerable only to God and his conscience. Nor were they likely to allow any peculiar authority to the Successor of Peter, inasmuch as they attributed to Peter no superiority over the other Apostles. In the West, indeed, a certain regard was paid to the Church of Rome as the largest, and

absolutely sure of the true reading of the passage cited above, but whatever the reading we must interpret it in the light of the known views of this Father elsewhere stated. Of two possible interpretations of his language, we must prefer that which is in harmony with, not that which contradicts, his general system. If Cyprian had written, "The primacy is given to Peter" (Primatus Petro datur), we would have to enquire what kind of primacy did he mean? And the following among many passages, would suffice to show that he did not dream of *such* a primacy as Rome claims to-day:

"Neither did Peter, whom the Lord chose to be first, and upon whom he built His Church, when he afterwards disputed with Paul concerning circumcision, claim or assume anything arrogantly or insolently, as to say that *he held the primacy* and ought to be obeyed by those who were new (in the faith) and by those who came after him."

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the only one in that region founded by an apostle; but by no means were any peculiar rights conceded to it over the other churches. . . . As all the bishops were supposed to be of like dignity and power, . . . they maintained their common right to interfere in any case where a bishop had transgressed the established rules of the Church." (I. 153–155.) See the copious citations given by Gieseler in support of these conclusions.

Cyprian uniformly addresses Pope Cornelius and Pope Stephen as equals, using the terms *frater* and *collega*. He does not hesitate to reprimand and reprove them. In the affair of the Spanish bishops *Basilides* and *Martialis* (A.D. 256) in which Cyprian was called upon to mediate, he "rejected the decision of the bishop of Rome in their favor."

(Nec Petrus, quem *primum* Dominus elegit, et super quem ædificavit ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumcisione postmodum disceptaret, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter aut arroganter assumpsit, ut diceret se *primatum* tenere, et obtemperari a *novellis* et *posteris* sibi oportere.) Epist. 71.

XIII

WITNESS OF THE GREEK CHURCH TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONAL CHURCHES

THE following passage from the Encyclical already several times quoted exhibits the complete harmony of the Greek Church with the Anglican as to the independence of national churches in the early Christian centuries:

XVI. Each autocephalous church, both in the East and the West, was, during the ages of the Seven Œcumenical Councils, entirely independent and self-governing. And as the bishops of the autocephalous Eastern Churches, so also those of Africa, Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain, administered their churches by means of their own local synods; the bishop of Rome possessing no right of interference, since he also was amenable and obedient to synodical decisions. But in case of weighty questions, which required the sanction of the entire Church, recourse was had to an Œcumenical Council, which alone was, and still is, the high tribunal of the Church, as a whole. The bishops were independent of each other and entirely free within their own boundaries, being subject only to synodical ordinances, and taking their seats in such synods as equals; and no one of them

ever laid claim to sovereign rights over the whole Church. But if certain ambitious bishops of Rome raised at times overbearing pretensions to an absolutism foreign to the traditions of the Church, they were duly refuted and reprimanded. It is proved, therefore, inaccurate and manifestly erroneous, that which his Beatitude Leo XIII. avers in his encyclical, namely, that prior to the time of Photius the name of the See of Rome was holy unto all the nations of the Christian world, and that the East as well as the West, with one accord and without opposition, submitted to the Roman high priest, as successor of the apostle Peter and consequently as vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth.

XVII. During the nine centuries of the Œcumenical Councils the Eastern Orthodox Church never recognized the unswerving pretensions to supremacy put forward by the bishop of Rome, nor did she ever submit to them, as the history of the Church testifies. The independent relations between East and West are clearly and manifestly evident from the following brief but noteworthy sentences of Basil the Great, in his letter to Eusebius among the saints, bishop of Samosota: "Verily, it is the nature of a haughty disposition, if indulged, to exceed itself in haughtiness. For if the Lord is gracious unto us, what need have we of other aid? But if the wrath of God continues, who will help us against the superciliousness of the West (those men) who neither know the truth nor will admit of learning it, but, having preconceived false suspicions, do not those things which they did before in the matter of Marcellus?" Later again, towards the close of the ninth century, Photius, that sacred and luminous hierarch, when

defending the independence of the Church of Constantinople, foresaw the perversion of the polity of the Church in the West and its disposition to forsake the orthodoxy of the East, and assayed to avert the danger by conciliatory means at first. But the bishop of Rome, Nicholas I., by intervening in the East, beyond his own province and contrary to the canons, and by attempting to subjugate to himself the Church of Constantinople, brought about the first stage of the grievous dissension of the Churches. Those absolutistic pretensions of popedom, which were first manifested in the Pseudo-Clementines, were matured exactly at the time of Nicholas in the so-called Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which are a mass of spurious and counterfeit royal orders and letters of ancient bishops of Rome, whereby, contrary to historical truth and to the established government of the Church, it was purposely put forth that primitive Christianity accorded to the bishops of Rome unbounded authority over the Church as a whole.

XIV

THE CHURCH OF ROME AND HOLY SCRIPTURE

THE Church of Rome has made Tradition an authority co-ordinate with and equal to Holy Scripture (see the Decrees of the Council of Trent); and then she has decreed that Scripture shall be interpreted in accordance with Tradition, and has constituted the Church (*i. e.*, since 1870 the Pope) the infallible interpreter of Scripture, the result of which process is to really reduce God's Holy Word to a subordinate and secondary position, so that its teaching counts for little in establishing matters of faith, or in testing dogmatic truth. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the Scriptural argument against the alleged Privilege of Peter and his alleged successors (see my Letter) has not been even alluded to by my critics. Yet it is decisive and unanswerable, and for all who reverence the sacred oracles of God ought to be an end of the Papal Controversy. The following passage from the pen of Cardinal Wiseman affords an instructive illustration of the attitude of the Church of Rome towards the Bible:

"The history in every case is simply this: that the individual, by some chance or other . . . happened to become possessed of the Word of God and of the Bible; that he perused this Book, that he could not find in it Transubstantiation; that he could not find in it Auricular Confession; that he could not find in it one word of Purgatory; nothing in it of worshipping images. He perhaps goes to the priest; he tells him that he cannot find these doctrines: his priest argues with him, and endeavors to convince him that he should shut up the Book that is leading him astray: he perseveres; he abandons the Communion of the Church of Rome—that is, as it is commonly expressed, the errors of that Church—and becomes a Protestant. Now in all that the man was a Protestant before he began his enquiry: he started with the principle that whatever is not in that book is not correct—that is the principle of Protestantism. He took for granted Protestantism, therefore, before he began to examine the (Roman) Catholic Religion. He sets out with the supposition that whatever is not in the Bible is no part of God's truth; he does not find certain things in the Bible; he concludes, therefore, that the religion that holds these is not the true religion of Christ."[1]

This is a candid avowal on the part of an eminent prince of the church, and a noted controversialist, that neither Transubstantiation, nor Auricular Confession, nor Purgatory, nor Worshipping of Images is found in the Bible.

[1] *Lectures on the Doctrines and Practices of the Roman Catholic Church*, 1836, p. 12.

I wish now to invite attention very briefly to the inconsistency of the Church of Rome in regard to the use of the Bible in the vernacular tongue by the lay people, using parallel columns to exhibit it more clearly to the eye.

Cardinal Gibbons:

"God forbid that any of my readers should be tempted to conclude, from what I have said, that the Catholic Church is opposed to the reading of the Scriptures. . . . If you open an English Catholic Bible you will find in the preface a letter from Pope Pius VI., in which he strongly recommends the pious reading of the Holy Scriptures. A Pope's letter is the most weighty authority in the Church. You will also find in Haydock's Bible the letters of the Bishops of the United States in which they express the hope that this splendid edition would have a wide circulation among their flocks."—*The Faith of our Fathers*, pp. 109, 111.

Index of Prohibited Books (approved by Pius IV.)

"Since it is manifest by experience that, if the Holy Bible in the vulgar tongue be suffered to be read everywhere without distinction, more evil than good arises, let the judgment of the Bishop or inquisitor be abided by in this respect; so that . . . they may grant permission to read translations of the Scriptures, made by Catholic writers, to those whom they understand to be able to receive no harm . . . from such reading. But whosoever shall presume to read these Bibles, or have them in possession without such faculty, *shall not be capable of receiving absolution of their sins, unless they have first given up the Bibles to the Ordinary.*" (Fourth Rule of the Congregation of the Index.)

Clement XI., in the Bull *Unigenitus* (A.D. 1713), condemned as "false" and "blasphemous" the following propositions:

"It is useful and necessary at all times, in all places, and for all kinds of people, to study and learn the spirit, holiness, and mysteries of the Sacred Scripture."

"The reading of Holy Scripture is for all."

"The Lord's Day ought to be hallowed by Christians with pious reading, and above all, of Holy Scripture. It is dangerous to attempt dissuading Christians from this reading."

"To forbid Christians the reading of Holy Scripture, especially of the Gospel, is to forbid the use of light to the children of light, and make them undergo a kind of excommunication."[1]

[1] Quoted by Dr. Littledale, *Plain Reasons*, etc., pp. 90, 91.

XV

POPE GREGORY THE GREAT ON THE TITLE "UNIVERSAL BISHOP."

FOLLOWING are the originals of the passages quoted from this Father in the Open Letter:

"Tu quid Christo universalis ecclesiæ capiti in extremi judicii dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet coneris universalis appelatione supponere? Quis, rogo, in hoc tam perverso vocabulo nisi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui despectis angelorum legionibus secum socialiter constitutis ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli subesse, et solus omnibus præesse videretur?" (Gregory, Ep. iv. 38.)

"Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit." (*Id.*, lib. vi., Ep. 30.)

In further elucidation of Pope Gregory the Great's indignant condemnation of this assumption of a universal Episcopate residing in the Bishop of Rome and his successors, I append several other passages, out of many available.

He exhausts the vocabulary in his vigorous characterization of the obnoxious phrase, "Universal Bishop." He calls it in one place *nomen erroris;* in another, *stultum ac superbum vocabulum;* in another, *nefandum vocabulum;* in yet another, *scelestum vocabulum;* and, finally, *nomen blasphemiæ.*

To the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, St. Gregory writes:

"This name *Universal* was offered during the Council of Chalcedon[1] to the Pontiff of the Apostolic See. . . . But no one of my predecessors ever consented to use so profane a title; because if one is called Universal Patriarch, the name of Patriarch is taken away from the rest. But far be it from the mind of a Christian to be willing in anywise to seize for himself that whereby he may appear in any degree whatsoever to diminish the honor of his brethren."

"Per Sanctam Chalcedonensam Synodum Pontifici sedis apostolicæ. . . . hoc universitatis nomen oblatum est. Sed nullus umquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit: quia videlicet si unus Patriarcha Universalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. Sed absit hoc, absit a Christiani mente id sibi velle quempiam arripere, unde fratrum suorum honorem imminuere ex quantulacumque parte videatur."—Gregorii Opera, Tom II. Epist. Lib. v., 43, p. 771. Paris, 1705.

Again, to the Patriarch of Alexandria, he writes:

"You are my brother in rank, my father in character. I did not, therefore, command, but took pains to suggest the things which seemed useful.

"Loco enim mihi fratres estis, moribus patres. Non ergo jussi, sed quæ utilia visa sunt, indicare curavi. . . . Dixi, nec mihi vos, nec cui-

[1] Not by the Council itself, nor with its authority, but by certain private individuals. Father Stafford is in error in asserting the contrary.

. . . "I said that you were not to write any such thing to me or to any one else; and behold in the very heading of the letter which you addressed to me, the very person who forbade it, you took care to set that haughty title, calling me Universal Bishop (Pope) which I beg your most gracious holiness not to do to me again. . . . For if your holiness calls me the Universal Bishop, you deny that you yourself are that which you confess me to be over the whole world. But far be such a thought."

quam alteri tale aliquid scribere debere; et ecce in præfatione Epistolæ quam ad me ipsum, qui prohibui, direxistis, superbæ appellationis verbum Universalem me Papam dicentes, imprimere curastis. Quod peto dulcissima mihi Sanctitas vestra ultra non faciat. . . . Si enim Universalem me Papam vestra Sanctitas dicit, negat se hoc esse quod me fatitur universum. Sed absit hoc."—*Id.*, Epist. Liber viii., 30, p. 919.

In yet another letter of his we meet with the following:

"As to that title of superstition and pride, I have studiously admonished him, saying that he could not have peace with us unless he corrected the haughtiness of the forementioned word, which the first apostate invented. You, however, ought not to say that that case is of no consequence, because if we bear this with equanimity we corrupt the faith of the Universal Church. . . . If one bishop is called universal (bishop) the whole church crumbles in ruin; if one (bishop) falls the whole (Episcopate) falls; but far from us be this folly, far from my ears be this levity."

"De eodem superstitioso et superbo vocabulo cum admonere studui, dicens, quia pacem nobiscum habere non posset, nisi elationem prædicti verbi corrigeret, quam primus apostata invenit. Vos tamen eamdem causam, nullam esse dicere non debetis; quia si hanc æquanimiter portamus, Universæ Ecclesiæ fidem corrumpimus. . . . Si unus Episcopus vocatur universalis universa ecclesia corruit; si unus, universus episcopatus, cadit; sed absit hæc stultitia, absit hæc levitas ab auribus meis."—Lib. vii., Ep. 27, p. 873.

Writing to the Emperor Maurice, St. Gregory thus speaks of St. Peter:

"He is not called Universal Apostle, yet this most holy man, my colleague in the priesthood, John [of Constantinople] aspires to the title Universal Bishop. I am compelled to cry out and say, *O tempora, O mores!* . . . Far from Christian hearts be that name of blasphemy, by which the honor of the whole priesthood is compromised, while it is insanely arrogated to himself by one."

"Universalis Apostolus non vocatur, et vir sanctissimus consacerdos meus Johannes vocari universalis Episcopus conatur. Exclamare compellor ac dicere, *O tempora, O mores!* . . . Absit a cordibus Christianis nomen istud blasphemiæ, in quo omnium Sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur." —*Id.* v. 20, pp. 748, 749.

Surely it is a lame and impotent explanation of the vehement and unqualified condemnation of the title Universal Bishop by Gregory, to say, as one of my critics does, that it was "because it was offensive, and it was offensive because it was high sounding, and had been assumed by the Eastern patriarch out of human pride, and in a sense injurious to other Bishops."

Gregory condemned the very thing which was subsequently consummated by Hildebrand and which is maintained and practised by the Pope today, *the subjection of other Bishops to the Bishop of Rome.*

The following passage from another letter of this great and humble-minded Pope still further declares his mind upon this subject, making it incontrovertibly clear that his objection to the

title "Universal Bishop" antedated the effort of John of Constantinople to arrogate it to himself, and lay against the title in itself, and not merely in its accidental association with the ambition of that Patriarch. Had Gregory held the modern Roman doctrine of the sovereignty of the Papacy, he would have replied (just as most certainly Pope Leo XIII. would reply to the Archbishop of Baltimore if he were to assume that title), that he, Gregory, Bishop of Rome, was the Universal Bishop, and that John was a rebel and a usurper in daring to assume it.

"It is true that for the honor of the blessed Prince of the apostles (this title) was offered, during the venerable Council of Chalcedon, to the Roman Pontiff. But none of those (pontiffs) ever consented to use this unique title, lest—while something exclusive were given to one, all should be deprived of the due honor of the priesthood. What is this then—we do not want the glory of this title even when offered, yet another presumes to seize it though it is not offered!"

"Certe pro beati Apostolorum principis honore, per venerandam Chalcedonensem Synodum Romanum Pontifice oblatum est. Sed nullus eorum umquam hoc singularitas nomine uti consensit, ne dum privatum aliquid daretur uni, honore debito sacerdotis privarentur universi. Quid est ergo, quod nos hujus vocabuli gloriam et oblatam non quærimus, et alter sibi hanc arripere et non oblatam præsumit!"—*Id.*, Lib. v. 20, p. 749.

XVI

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

A LEARNED Anglican writer remarks upon the fact that in the opinion of some present-day Roman theologians the Pope has never but *once* spoken "with the formalities necessary to make his utterance *ex cathedrâ* and infallibly binding, and that was when Pius IX., on December 8, 1854, decreed the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary." In my Open Letter to Pope Leo it is stated that this doctrine "is explicitly or implicitly denied by several of the greatest of the Fathers, as St. Augustine and St. Bernard, and by the greatest of Roman Catholic divines, St. Thos. Aquinas, as well as by several of the Popes themselves."

I proceed to justify this statement by quotations from the writers named:

St. Augustine:

"Etenim, ut celerius dicam, Maria ex Adam, mortua propter peccatum (Adam mortuus propter peccatum), et caro Domini ex Maria mortua est propter delenda peccata."—Sermo Secundus. De reliqua parte Psalm xxxiv., 3.

"For, to sum up in a word, Mary, sprung from Adam, died because of sin (Adam died because of sin), and the flesh of our Lord sprung from Mary died in order to blot out sin."

And the following, quoted by Archdeacon Sinclair:

"He alone being man, but remaining God, never had any sin, nor did He take on Him a flesh of sin, though from *the flesh of sin of His Mother*. For what flesh He thence took, He either, when taken, immediately purified, or purified in the act of taking it." (Bened. Ed., Paris, 1630—p. 61.)

St. Bernard (A.D. 1140) blames the Canons of Lyons for the innovation of celebrating the Feast of the Conception, then denies that it should be held, because "the Conception was not holy, like the Nativity."

"I greatly marvel that . . . some of you should have thought good to change this excellent hue, by introducing a new festival which the ritual of the Church knows not of, reason approves not, ancient tradition recommends not. Are we more learned or more devout than the Fathers? . . . The royal virgin needeth not false honour. . . . Beyond all doubt, the mother of the Lord, too, was holy before she was born. . . . What should we think is to be added yet to these honours? They say that 'the conception, which went before the honoured birth, should be honoured, because had not that preceded, this which is honoured had not been.' What if another for the same reason should assert that festive honours should be paid to both her parents also?" Ep. 174, ad Canon. Lugd. Opp. 1, 169 seq. Quoted by Dr. Pusey, First Letter to Dr. Newman, pp. 171, 174.

St. Thomas Aquinas:

The following passages sufficiently exhibit his doctrine on this subject:

Summa, Part III. Quæs. XVI. Art. III. "Ad primam ergo dicendum, quod caro Virginis concepta fuit in originali peccato, et ideo hos defectus contraxit. Sed caro Christi naturam ex virgine assumpsit absque culpa."

"As to the first, then, it is to be said that the flesh of the Virgin was conceived in original sin, and therefore it contracted these defects. But the flesh of Christ took its nature from the Virgin without fault."

Id. Quæstio XXVII. Art. I. Utrum beata virgo, mater Dei, fuerit sanctificata ante nativitatem ex utero. . . .

"Whether the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God, was sanctified before her birth from the womb. . . .

Ad tertium dicendum, quod beata virgo sanctificata in utero a peccato originali, quantum at maculam personalem, non tamen fuit liberata a reatu quo tota natura tenebatur obnoxia, ut scilicet non intraret in Paradisum nisi per Christi ostium.

"As to the third it is to be said that the Blessed Virgin sanctified in the womb from original sin, as to personal taint, was nevertheless not delivered from the guilt whereby all nature was held attainted, so that, indeed, she did not enter into Paradise save through the gate of Christ."

(He compares the cases of Jeremiah and John Baptist as parallel.)

Id. Art. IV. "In beata virgine post sanctificationem in utero, remansit quidem fomes peccati, sed ligatus ni scilicet prorumperet in aliquem motum inordinatum."

"In the blessed virgin after sanctification in the womb, there remained a certain kindling material of sin, but restrained from breaking forth into any inordinate motion."

Cardinal de Turrecremata, a famous theologian, having been appointed by the Council of Basle to investigate the history of this doctrine, made report as follows:

"Behold, O Sacred Synod, one hundred witnesses, who, being most profound Doctors in Divine and Canon Law, or very learned Fathers, give a most clear testimony . . . that the most Blessed Virgin was in her conception subject to original sin."—Pusey, Letter I. to Dr. Newman, p. 72.

Testimony of the Popes.

Of the fourteen Popes who are said to have pronounced against the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, I quote the following from Dr. Pusey:

Pope Leo I. Serm. 5, De Nat. Dom. C. 5, p. 86., "Alone then among the sons of men the Lord Jesus was born innocent, because He alone was born without the pollution of carnal concupiscence."

Pope Gelasius, against Pelagius, says: "No one is clean from defilement." p. 130.

Gregory the Great: "He *alone* was born truly holy who . . . was not conceived by the commixture of carnal intercourse." p. 142.

Pope Innocent III. says: "Mary was produced in sin, but she brought forth without sin." Serm. 2 "De Festo Assump. Mariæ," Colon., 1552 (quoted by Archdeacon Sinclair).

In the light of these passages it is impossible to avoid the dilemma of rejecting either the creed of Pius IV. (which binds every Catholic never to

take or interpret the Scriptures "otherwise than according to the *unanimous consent* of the Fathers") or the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

With Pope Leo I., Pope Gelasius, Pope Gregory the Great, and Pope Innocent III. denying this doctrine, and Pope Pius IX. affirming and defining it as an article of faith—it must be hard for the adherent of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility to know what to believe. When Infallibility is arrayed against Infallibility, who shall be the arbiter?

It may be interesting to compare the opinion recently expressed by some of the highest representatives of the Greek Church upon this subject, in their reply to the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on Reunion. Art. XIII. of that document (already quoted) reads as follows:

"The one Holy Catholic and Apostolical Church of the Seven Œcumenical Councils has laid down the dogma of the supernatural, pure and immaculate incarnation of the only begotten Son and Word of God alone, by the Holy Ghost and through the Virgin Mary. But the papal church has again introduced an innovation, scarcely forty years ago, having propounded the novel dogma of the immaculate conception of the Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary—a dogma entirely unknown to the Ancient Church, and strenuously combated, in former times, by the most eminent of papal theologians."[1]

[1] Reply of the Holy Catholic and Orthodox Church of the East to the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on Reunion. London: John & E. Bumpus, Oxford St.

"History cannot be made over again. It is there, and will remain, to all eternity, to protest energetically against the dogma of the Papal Infallibility."

"Deus solus est infallibilis."—ABP. KENRICK.

XVII

THE DOGMA OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY

IT is well known that the adoption of this dogma by the Vatican Council was strenuously opposed by many of the most illustrious and learned Prelates and Scholars of the Roman Communion, among others by the following: DARBOY, Archbishop of Paris (afterwards martyred in the Commune); DUPANLOUP, Bishop of Orleans; RAUSCHER, Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna; SCHWARZENBERG, Cardinal Archbishop of Prague; SCHERR, Archbishop of Munich; HEFELE, Bishop of Rottenburg; STROSSMAYER, Bishop of Bosnia; MACHALE, Archbishop of Tuam; CONOLLY, Archbishop of Halifax; KENRICK, Archbishop of St. Louis; DÖLLINGER, the eminent historian and theologian, and JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

But no weight of learning or eloquence or character could avail against the determination of the Jesuits, that "aggressive and insolent

faction," as Newman called them, to force the dogma upon the Church. The Council which proclaimed it was in no sense œcumenical. It was, in the first place, a Council of the ROMAN Communion alone; and it was not truly representative even of that section of the Church Catholic, for the Council was packed with Italians and others whose votes could be depended on. Italy had 276 delegates, while France, with a much larger Catholic population had only eighty-four, Germany nineteen, and the United States forty-eight.

Neither was the Vatican Council free. Liberal Catholics severely censured this feature. "More than one hundred Prelates of all nations signed a protest (dated Rome, March 1, 1870) against the order of business, especially against the mere majority vote, and expressed the fear that in the end the authority of this Council might be impaired as wanting in truth and liberty."[1]

The Decree of Papal Infallibility was passed on the 18th July, 1870. It is as follows:

"Itaque Nos traditioni a fidei Christianæ exordio perceptæ fideliter inhærendo, ad Dei Salvatoris nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicæ exaltationem et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse declaramus: ROMANUM PONTIFICEM, CUM EX CATHEDRA LOQUITUR, ID EST, CUM OMNIUM CHRISTIANORUM PAS-

[1] See Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i., p. 144.

TORIS ET DOCTORIS MUNERE FUNGENS PRO SUPREMA SUA APOSTOLICA AUCTORITATE DOCTRINAM DE FIDE VEL MORIBUS AB UNIVERSA ECCLESIA TENENDAM DEFINIT, PER ASSISTENTIAM DIVINAM, IPSI IN BEATO PETRO PROMISSAM, EA INFALLIBILITATE POLLERE, QUA DIVINUS REDEMPTOR ECCLESIAM SUAM IN DEFINIENDA DOCTRINA DE FIDE VEL MORIBUS INSTRUCTAM ESSE VOLUIT; IDEOQUE EJUSMODI ROMANI PONTIFICIS DEFINITIONES EX SESE, NON AUTEM EX CONSENSU ECCLESIÆ, IRREFORMABILES ESSE.

Si quis autem huic Nostræ definitioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, præsumpserit; anathema sit.[1]"

It is thus translated:

"Therefore, faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian Faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian people, the sacred Council approving, we teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks ex cathedra—that is, when in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, by the Divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter,—is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that, therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not from the consent of the Church. But if any one—which, may

[1] *Id.*, p. 151.

God avert—presume to contradict this our definition, let him be anathema."

Now, when this dogma is brought to the impartial bar of history, it completely breaks down. No wonder that John Henry Newman was so sad at heart in the anticipation of its promulgation. He wrote to Bishop Ullathorne:

"I look with anxiety at the prospect of having to defend decisions which may not be difficult to my own private judgment, but may be *most difficult to maintain logically in the face of historical facts*, Think [he continues] of the store of pontifical scandals in the history of eighteen centuries, which have partly been poured forth, and partly are still to come. . . . If it is God's will that the Pope's infallibility be defined, then is it God's will to throw back the times and moments of that triumph which He has destined for His Kingdom, and I shall feel I have but to bow my head to his adorable, inscrutable Providence."[1]

What history has to say to this new dogma has been already intimated on a preceding page. In truth the whole weight of the preceding argument bears conclusively against the truth of this novel dogma. The Œcumenical Councils, the Ancient Fathers, and many of the Popes themselves, as well as the Holy Scriptures, stand forth as incorruptible witnesses against it. It has none of the three notes of Catholicity,—neither the

[1] Five years later Dr. Newman retracted this (confidential) letter.

semper, nor the *ubique*, nor the *ab omnibus*. The Canon Law of the Middle Ages, while placing the Pope above all secular tribunals, yet laid down that he could be judged and deposed for heresy (deprehendatur a fide devius). Even Innocent III. (thirteenth century), spite of his boundless claims to secular and spiritual power, acknowledged that he might sin against the faith and become subject to the judgment of the Church. Innocent IV. expressed himself in the same sense. Of Boniface VIII. (fourteenth century) it was said that he had a devil, because he declared that every creature must obey the Pope on pain of eternal damnation. And Hadrian VI., before he became Pope, said that it was certain the Pope could err even in matters of faith.

As to concrete examples of the fallibility of the Pope, even when speaking *ex cathedrâ*, scholars, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, have supplied us with enough to convince any one whose mind is not closed against conviction.

Two Popes of the third century, Zephyrinus and Callistus, were guilty of heresy in relation to the person of our Lord, according to the testimony of Hippolytus, saint and martyr.[1]

Pope Liberius (A.D. 358) (whose case has been referred to above) subscribed an Arian Creed and condemned Athanasius, the great champion of the Divinity of Christ.

[1] See the *Search-Light of St. Hyppolytus*, Revell & Co., 1896, for vindication of the authenticity of his works.

Pope Zosimus gave the stamp of orthodoxy to the Pelagian heresy, but afterwards, under pressure from St. Augustine, reversed his decision.

Pope Vigilius (538–555), having been repudiated by the fifth Œcumenical Council, made his submission to the Council and confessed that he had been the tool of Satan.

Pope Honorius I. (625–638) taught *ex cathedrâ* the Monothelite heresy, and was excommunicated as a heretic by an Œcumenical Council—universally acknowledged both in the East and in the West—which assembled in Constantinople in 680. Their anathema was repeated by the seventh and eighth Œcumenical Councils. And finally the succeeding Popes for three hundred years pronounced "an eternal anathema" on Pope Honorius, thus recognizing both the justice of his condemnation and also the principle that a general Council may condemn a Pope for heresy.[1]

All attempts to escape the iron grasp of the facts of history in this crucial instance of the breakdown of the theory of Papal Infallibility have failed conspicuously.

It seemed to many devout children of the Church an evil omen that "the Episcopal votes and the Papal proclamation of the new dogma were accompanied by flashes of lightning and claps of thunder from the skies, and so great was the darkness which spread over the Church of St. Peter, that the Pope could not read the decree

[1] See Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i., pp. 176, 179.

of his own Infallibility without the artificial light of a candle." There was an apprehension of calamities impending over the Papacy.

"And behold the day after the proclamation of the dogma Napoleon III., the political ally and supporter of Pius IX., unchained the furies of war, which, in a few weeks, swept away the Empire of France and the temporal throne of the infallible Pope. His own subjects forsook him and almost unanimously voted for a new sovereign, whom he had excommunicated as the worst enemy of the Church. A German Empire arose from victorious battlefields, and Protestantism sprung to the political and military leadership of Europe. About half a dozen Protestant Churches have since been organized in Rome, where none was tolerated before, except outside the walls or in the house of some foreign ambassador; a branch of the Bible Society was established, which the Pope, in his Syllabus, denounces as a pest, and a public debate was held in which even the presence of Peter in Rome was called in question. History records no more striking example of swift retribution of criminal ambition.[1]"

Lord Acton thus records the opinions of the minority in the Vatican Council:

"When the observations which the Bishops had sent in to the Commission appeared in print, it seemed that the minority had burnt their ships. They affirmed that the dogma would put an end to the conversion of Protestants, that it would drive devout men out of the Church and make Catholicism indefen-

[1] *Id.*, pp. 159–160.

sible in controversy, that it would give governments apparent reason to doubt the fidelity of Catholics, and would give new authority to the theory of persecution and of the deposing power. They testified that it was unknown in many parts of the Church, and was denied by the Fathers, so that neither perpetuity nor universality could be pleaded in its favor; and they declared it an absurd contradiction, founded on ignoble deceit, and incapable of being made an article of faith by Pope or Council. One Bishop protested that he would die rather than proclaim it. Another thought it would be an act of suicide for the Church."—Article on "The Vatican Council, "*North British Review*, Oct., 1870, pp. 225–6.

There were 750 Bishops in the Council, of whom 85 voted against the Decree. In the minority were found the ablest, the most learned, and the most eloquent of the Bishops, including such men as RAUSCHER, SCHWARZENBERG, HEFELE, KETTLER, KENRICK, CONOLLY, DARBOY, STROSSMAYER. See the Appendix for a powerful speech attributed to Bp. Strossmayer.

XVIII

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY AN IGNIS FATUUS

IT has been pointed out in the "OPEN LETTER" (p. 57) that the dogma of Infallibility holds out delusive hopes to those who submit to it in the expectation of thereby securing absolute certainty of religious belief. In illustration of this statement, reference has been made to the difference of opinion among even learned Roman Catholics as to the *extent* of the Pope's Infallibility. Previous to 1870 no man could tell where the vaunted gift of Infallibility resided. "It resides in the Pope," said some of their divines. "No, not in the Pope," said others, "but in the Church at large (a diffusive power or virtue)." "By no means," exclaimed a third party, "it belongs to General Councils without the Pope." "You are all wrong," said a fourth school; "Infallibility resides in a General Council, with the Pope at its head."

But now since the Vatican Council has spoken, the uncertainty is at an end, and it must be confessed by every good Catholic that the Pope is personally infallible when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*.

Is there, then, peace at last,—and unanimity,—after so many centuries of conflict, upon the very first question of their whole system? Alas, no! for the question now is, *When* does the Pope speak *ex cathedrâ?* Who is to decide? And until such decision is authoritatively given, how can we be sure that we have really grasped the certainty that is built upon Infallibility?

For example, let us suppose a devout Roman Catholic takes up for perusal the famous Syllabus of Pius IX. (1864). This document contains a catalogue of eighty errors of the age which are formally condemned by Pius IX. Is this, then, an *ex cathedrâ* pronouncement and therefore infallible? Cardinal Manning (as pointed out in the Open Letter) stoutly affirms that it is part of "the infallible teaching" of the Pope; but Cardinal Newman supports the contrary opinion. Which is right? Who is to decide? Each man for himself? Then, indeed, Infallibility rests upon *private judgment* — which good Roman Catholics have thrown away as a broken reed. Or is each man's Confessor to decide for him? In that case, Infallibility rests still upon private judgment—that of a priest instead of a layman.

Meanwhile what grave issues are left suspended in mid-air for the devout son of Mother Church. If Manning was right, then religious and civil liberty—which American prelates never tire of

applauding on public occasions—is a detestable error which, as a good Roman Catholic, he is bound to reject and abhor. If Newman was right, then he may say Amen to the panegyrics just alluded to with a good conscience. If Manning was right, then the separation of Church and State has been condemned by Infallible authority, and the absolute independence of the Roman hierarchy of all civil government infallibly asserted. If Manning was right, then our devout Roman Catholic may not be hopeful concerning the eternal salvation of his non-Roman-Catholic friends, on pain of resisting the decision of the Infallible Papal Tribunal. In short, the old uncertainty as to *where* Infallibility reposed has simply given place to uncertainty in a new form: *when* is this Infallible voice heard? And how may it be recognized? On this question certainty is unattainable—and the Roman Catholic is no better off than his poor Protestant neighbor, who builds his faith on the Infallible voice that speaks in Holy Scripture.

In one of the popular controversial works upon which Roman Catholics greatly rely (*The Faith of our Fathers*, by Cardinal Gibbons), the following argument is employed, and the poor Protestant is shown that his "Infallible Bible" is of no use whatever without an infallible interpreter. I will place in a parallel column the Cardinal's argument turned against his own doctrine:

THE CARDINAL TO THE PROTESTANT:

"Let us see, sir, whether an infallible Bible is sufficient for you. Either you are infallibly certain that your interpretation of that Bible is correct, or you are not.

"If you are infallibly certain, then you assert for yourself, and, of course, for every reader of the Scripture, a personal infallibility which you deny to the Pope, and which we claim only for him. You make every man his own Pope.

"If you are not infallibly certain that you understand the true meaning of the whole Bible—and this is a privilege you do not claim—then, I ask, of what use to you is the objective infallibility of the Bible, without an infallible Interpreter?" (p. 155.)

THE PROTESTANT TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC:

"Let us see, my friend, whether an Infallible Pope is sufficient for you. Either you are infallibly certain that your interpretation of the meaning and extent of the dogma of infallibility is correct, or you are not.

"If you are infallibly certain, then you assert for yourself, and, of course, for every Roman Catholic, a personal infallibility. You make every Roman Catholic his own Pope.

"If you are not infallibly certain that you understand the scope and meaning of the dogma of infallibility—and how can you make such a claim, when the great scholars and princes of the Church differ about it so widely—then, I ask, of what use to you is the dogma of infallibility without an infallible Interpreter of its scope and intent?"

The logical dilemma is a dangerous bull, for he will sometimes turn and gore his own master!

Take another case. Suppose a devout and obedient member of the Roman Communion desirous of knowing whether the principles of liberty as embodied in that famous instrument,

the Magna Charta, are in harmony with his faith and with his church. He hears on every hand in America words of approval and praise for free institutions, and naturally concludes that his church is in sympathy with popular liberty as embodied in the great English and American political instruments. But suppose he chances to read the history of the reign of King John, and so learns that Pope Innocent III. sent his commissioners to England to declare the MAGNA CHARTA null and void and to restrain King John from giving it effect. Suppose he reads further and finds that when Stephen Langton, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to execute this Bull, and stood forth as the champion of the rights and liberties of the people of England against the despotism of King John, the Pope suspended him from his archiepiscopal office, and drove him into exile.

Or suppose a mother loses her infant child. It has been baptized and therefore perhaps she feels confident of its salvation, but some one calls her attention to the positive, dogmatic, deliverance of Pope Innocent I. and Pope Gelasius I. in the fifth century, declaring that infants dying without receiving the Holy Communion are undoubtedly damned. True, the Council of Trent, with a Pope at its head (A.D. 1564), condemned and anathematized this monstrous doctrine; but how is she, poor woman, to tell which was the true definition? Both were Papal, and therefore both infallible, though contradictory.

Or suppose the question be about valid Baptism. A dying child has been baptized by a woman, but in the name of Christ alone. Was that sufficient? Pope Nicholas, in the ninth century, gave his decision that such a Baptism is valid; but Pope Pelagius, in the sixth century, had decided that no Baptism was valid unless administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Or one has a dear friend, or a beloved relative, who is a Protestant. May he hope for the final salvation of such an one? He will get contradictory answers from different priests, and in different countries. Often in America he will be encouraged to hope for it, but it has not been long since an eminent ecclesiastic publicly asserted the contrary. And one of the Popes (Boniface VIII.), whose decision must have been infallible, declared, *ex cathedrâ*, that "for every human creature it is altogether necessary to salvation to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

Or the question pertains to marriage: Is the marriage tie broken, if one of the two (husband or wife) becomes a pervert to heresy? Pope Celestine III. pronounced the marriage tie broken in such a case. Subsequent Popes have given contrary decisions. Which is the true?

Or a man wishes to know whether he may fight a duel? It was authorized by Pope Pascal II. and Pope Eugenius III. Is it therefore right?

Or must he obey the decisions of subsequent Popes, who have forbidden it?

What an *ignis fatuus*, then, is this dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope, and how vain is the hope that, in submitting to it, men secure absolute certainty of belief! No sooner had it been promulgated, than the line of cleavage began to develop between the "maximizers" like Ward and Manning, and the "minimizers" like John Henry Newman. This same wide difference of interpretation prevails in the Roman Communion in regard to various doctrines and practices of their faith.

Take one example out of many, the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin. Here, verily, we have the *maximizers* and the *minimizers*—those who make a goddess of the Virgin, and give her the worship which is due to God alone, and those who only honor her, and ask her intercession, but do not worship her. The apologists of the Church of Rome are usually found among the "minimizers." Their controversial works reduce this *cultus* to the minimum, and indignantly deny that any good Roman Catholic ever pays Divine honors to the Blessed Virgin. That, they say, is a Protestant invention, or misrepresentation. They give *douleia* to the Virgin, not *latreia*.

But let a candid observer take note of the *popular religion* in Mexico, in South America, in Ireland, in Spain, and on the Continent generally (especially among the peasantry), and he will

find it hard to resist the conclusion that the Blessed Virgin is worshipped with *latreia* as God is worshipped, and that her worship has largely taken the place of the worship of Christ.

But let us turn from the ignorant and superstitious multitude, who, it may be said, pervert and misapply the Church's doctrine, and let us consult the Doctors of theology. In a work entitled *Protestantism and Infidelity*, by Francis Xavier Weninger, D.D., "Missionary of the Society of Jesus," I find the following example of the doctrine of the *minimizers*. I place in a parallel column that of the *maximizers*.

The Teaching of the Minimizers.	The Doctrine of the Maximizers.
"Protestant misrepresentation is particularly directed against our veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. You have been taught that we adore her. It is an unfounded calumny like the rest. Our doctrine is to-day what it was in the beginning of Christianity and has been in all ages since. We teach to-day what St. Epiphanius taught in opposition to the heretics of the fourth century: 'We honor Mary; but the Father, Son,	"Heart of Mary, Mother of God, . . . worthy of all the veneration of angels and men, . . . Be thou our help in need, our comfort in trouble, our strength in temptation . . . our aid in all dangers. . . . Leave me not, my Mother, in my own hands, or I am lost. Let me but cling to thee. Save me, my Hope; save me from Hell."[1] "I adore you, Eternal Father; I adore you, Eternal Son; I adore you, Most Holy Spirit; I adore you, Most Holy

[1] From the "Raccolta," a collection of Prayers indulgenced by the Pope.

and Holy Ghost alone we adore.'"

Virgin, Queen of the Heavens, Lady and Mistress of the Universe."[1]

"We have made a goddess of the Blessed Virgin."[2]

She is "the complement of the Whole Trinity."[3]

"Notre-Dame de Chartres, notre secours pendant la vie et à l'heure de notre mort." —Litanies de Notre-Dame de Chartres (1885).

As regards the hollowness of the alleged unity and harmony of the Roman Communion, no better illustration could be given than is found in the picture of the life of the Roman hierarchy in England, so vividly drawn by Mr. Purcell in his life of Cardinal Manning. It is a tissue of controversies and jealousies, of mining and countermining, between the different parties in the Roman Communion. The members of the hierarchy are seen in continual conflict and intrigue. They agree neither in opinions nor in policies,—and first one, then another, of the bishops hies him to Rome, hoping to undermine the influence and credit of his brother prelate with the Holy Father. It is a mournful spectacle of the absence of "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Mr. Purcell remarks that "second only to his belief in the Infallibility of the Pope . . . was Manning's

[1] From a Prayer published under license at Rome in 1825.

[2] Bp. Strossmayer, alleged speech in the Vatican Council.

[3] Salazar.

belief in the duty of *keeping up at every hazard the appearance of unity of opinion among Catholics*." But the intestine strife could not be wholly concealed, and this remarkable book has drawn aside the veil and shown us the bitterness and divisions and mutual distrust that prevail in the Roman Communion. In a letter to Mgr. Talbot, Manning wrote, in 1860, "Thank God the Protestants do not know that half our time and strength is wasted in contests *inter domesticos fidei*." (*Life*, p. 101.) So bitter was the strife that Manning and his friend did not hesitate, in their confidential correspondence, to speak of the great Newman as "the most dangerous man in England," and to express alarm at the danger of "an English Catholicism." Cardinal Manning felt himself and his party of Ultramontanes far more widely separated from Newman and his "English Catholics" than these latter were from Dr. Pusey. "Between us and them," he writes to his confidential friend, Talbot, "there is a far greater distance than between them and Dr. Pusey's book."

This story of division and conflict finds its counterpart in the annals of the Roman Church in the United States a generation later. The secret history of the internecine strife which is still going on in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Communion in America has not yet been revealed; but enough has transpired from time to time, as for example in connection with the recent removal

of the accomplished Rector of their University at Washington, Dr. Keane, to show that the old feud between the Ultramontanes and the Liberals is not healed.

So vain is the boast of unity of Spirit and identity of belief among Roman Catholics. Behind the veil they are as far from unity, and from oneness of doctrine, as their Protestant fellow-Christians. The Vatican decree has not secured solidarity of belief or of policy.

XIX

CONCLUSION.

THE task which I set myself in the preparation of this little volume is done. The Venerable Pontiff in his Encyclical appealed to History —sacred and ecclesiastical—in support of the tremendous claims which, as Infallible Pope, he makes upon the whole Christian world. We have willingly taken the great controversy before that august tribunal; and we have obtained a verdict against the vast pretensions of the Papacy. Inspired History pronounces against them. The History of the early Councils of the Catholic Church pronounces against them. The History of the ancient Fathers (their lives and their writings) pronounces against them. "History cannot be made over again. It is there, and will remain to all eternity, to protest energetically against the dogma of Papal Infallibility."

It only remains to add in conclusion that no word in the preceding pages has been penned in bitterness or in uncharitableness. We respect the sincerity of our Roman Catholic brethren, we acknowledge the piety and devotion that shine in the lives of great numbers of them. We

recognize the vast services they are rendering to mankind in many ways; and we fervently wish that we might be co-laborers for the Kingdom of God and of righteousness rather than antagonists—fellow-soldiers under the banner of the Cross against ungodliness, infidelity, and vice in this great Republic, rather than opponents.

But when an ecclesiastical absolutism like the Papacy is set up, and we are called upon to surrender our liberties and our rights in the Kingdom of God, and to repudiate the heritage of Apostolic truth and order which we have received from our fathers and which came to them as an heirloom from primitive antiquity, our loyalty to the King of Kings demands that we should expose the hollowness of these pretensions in the impartial light of history, and unveil the absurdities, the inconsistencies, and the self-contradictions which are inseparably bound up with the dogma of Papal Infallibility, and Papal Dominion over the faith of the Church. It is in this spirit, and under this high sense of duty to the Great Head of the Church, that I have written. At His feet I lay the fruit of my labor, and pray that He may accept the offering and use it for the enlightenment of His children.

APPENDIX TO LEO XIII.

THE Alleged Speech of Bishop Strossmayer in the Vatican Council of 1870 against the Dogma of Papal Infallibility.

The following passages are taken from a translation of an Italian version of an alleged speech of the eloquent Bishop Strossmayer who so courageously and eloquently opposed the dogma of Papal Infallibility. It was published in Florence under the title of *The Pope and the Gospel*, and appeared in English in the *Baltimore American* of August 3, 1871.

The Tablet of London, August 8, 1874, a Roman Catholic organ, states that in 1873 (two years later), Bishop Salford, visiting Rome, showed Bishop Strossmayer a copy of a speech, alleged to have been delivered by him in the Vatican Council, and subsequently widely circulated in England; and that the Bishop declared that it was not authentic—that it was in fact a forgery. (Whether that English version was the same as the one printed in the *Baltimore American* I have not been able to ascertain.)

Two things, however, are certain: first, that Bishop Strossmayer was the most powerful and outspoken opponent of the Dogma of Papal Infallibility, and that he delivered in the Vatican Council a speech that so enraged the Papal partisans that he was repeatedly interrupted by loud cries and execrations and by the ringing of the President's bell. On one

of these occasions they cried "Shame! Shame!" "Down with the heretic!" and refused to allow him to proceed. Of this an account is given in the October number of the *North British Review*, 1870, in an article on "The Vatican Council," from the pen of that great Roman Catholic scholar, Lord Acton, who gives two passages from Bishop Strossmayer's speech. In one of these he says, "future generations will say that this Council lacked both liberty and truth," "huic Concilio libertatem et veritatem defuisse."

The other thing which cannot be controverted is that the alleged speech presents a very powerful argument from Scripture and from History against Papal Infallibility. It is worthy of the Bishop's great reputation for logic, for eloquence and for courage. "You terrify me with your pitiless logic," was the exclamation of one who, like many others, "gloried in the grace and the splendor of his eloquence"; and one cannot but ask, if Strossmayer did not compose this oration, where was the man who was capable of such a composition—unless our eyes turn to the Archbishop of Halifax, the Archbishop of St. Louis, or the Bishop of Grenoble,—and who would accuse such men of a forgery? But, whoever composed this speech, there it stands, irrefragable in argument, powerful in appeal; and I quote it, not because it fell from the lips of Strossmayer (whether it did, or not, is a question I am content to leave undetermined), but because its learning is unimpeachable, its logic unanswerable. It is noteworthy also for the uncompromising clearness with which it appeals to Scripture as the foundation of the Faith,—a feature in which it agrees in a striking manner with a speech undoubtedly delivered by Archbishop Conolly of

Halifax, in which he repudiated all dogmas not distinctly founded on the recorded word of God. "Verbum Dei volo et hoc solum, quæro et quidem indubitatum, sit dogma fiet."

"St. Cyril in his fourth book on the Trinity says, 'I believe that by the rock you must understand the unshaken faith of the Apostles.' St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, in his second book on the Trinity, says, 'The rock (petra) is the blessed and only rock of the faith confessed by the mouth of St. Peter'; and in the sixth book of the Trinity he says, 'It is on this rock of the confession of faith that the Church is built.' 'God,' says St. Jerome, in the 6th book on St. Matthew, 'has founded His Church on this rock, and it is from this rock that the Apostle Peter has been named.' After him St. Chrysostom says, in his 53d homily on St. Matthew, 'On this rock I will build my Church—that is, on the faith of the confession.' Now what was the confession of the Apostle? Here it is, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.' Ambrose, the holy Archbishop of Milan, on the 2d chapter of the Ephesians, St. Basil of Seleucia, and the Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon teach exactly the same thing. Of all the Doctors of antiquity, St. Augustine occupies one of the first places in knowledge and holiness. Listen, then, to what he writes in his second treatise on the First Epistle of St. John: 'What do the words mean, I will build my Church on this rock? On this faith, on that which thou hast said, Thou art the Christ —the Son of the Living God.' In his 124th treatise on St. John, we find this most significant phrase: 'On this rock, which thou hast confessed, I will build my Church, since Christ was the Rock.' The great

bishop believes so little that the Church was built on St. Peter, that he said to his people in his 10th Sermon, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock (petra) which thou hast confessed—on this rock which thou hast known, saying, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God, —I will build my Church,—above Myself, who am the Son of the Living God; *I will build it on Me, and not Me on thee.*'

"That which St. Augustine thought upon this celebrated passage, was the opinion of all Christendom in his time. . . .

"I conclude victoriously, with History, with Reason, with Logic, with good sense, and with a Christian conscience, that Jesus Christ did not confer any supremacy on Peter, and that the Bishops of Rome did not become sovereigns of the Church, but only by confiscating, one by one, all the rights of the Episcopate."

"Penetrated with the feelings of responsibility, of which God will demand of me an account, I have set myself to study, with the most serious attention, the writings of the Old and New Testament, and have asked these venerable monuments of truth to make me know if the Holy Pontiff, who presides there, is truly the successor of St. Peter, Vicar of Jesus Christ, and infallible Doctor of the Church. To resolve this grave question, I have been obliged to ignore the present state of things, and to transport myself in mind, with the evangelical torch in my hand, to the days when there was neither Ultramontanism, nor Gallicanism, and in which the Church had for Doctors St. Paul, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John—Doctors to whom no one can deny the divine authority without putting in doubt that which the Holy Bible,

which is here before me, teaches us, and which the Council of Trent has proclaimed the rule of faith and morals. I have then opened these sacred pages. Well, shall I dare to say it? I have found nothing, either near or far, which sanctions the opinion of the Ultramontanes. And still more, to my very great surprise, I find no question in the Apostolic days, of a Pope, successor to St. Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ, no more than of Mahomet, who did not then exist.

"You, Monsignor Manning, will say that I blaspheme; you, Monsignor Pic, will say that I am mad. No, Monsignori, I do not blaspheme, and I am not mad. Now, having read the whole New Testament, I declare before God, with my hand raised to that great crucifix, that I have found no trace of the Papacy as it exists at this moment. . . . Reading then the sacred books with that attention of which the Lord has made me capable, I do not find one single chapter or one little verse in which Jesus Christ gave St. Peter the mastery over the Apostles, his fellow-workers. If Simon Son of Jonas had been what we believe His Holiness Pius IX. to be to-day, it is wonderful that He had not said to him, 'When I shall have ascended to my Father you shall all obey Simon Peter as you obey Me. I establish him my Vicar upon earth.' Not only is Christ silent upon this point, but so little does He think of giving a head to the Church that when he promises thrones to his Apostles to judge the twelve tribes of Israel He promises them twelve, one for each, without saying that among these thrones one shall be higher than the others, which shall belong to Peter. . . . When Christ sent the Apostles to conquer the world, to all He gave equally the power to bind and to loose, and to all He gave the promise of

the Holy Spirit. Permit me to repeat it. If He had wished to constitute Peter His Vicar, He would have given him the chief command over His spiritual Army. . . . One thing has surprised me very much. Turning it over in my mind I said to myself, If Peter had been elected Pope would his colleagues have been permitted to send him, with St. John, to Samaria to announce the gospel of the Son of God? (Acts viii. 14.) . . . But here is another still more important fact. An Œcumenical Council is assembled at Jerusalem to decide on the questions which divide the faithful. Who would have called together this Council if St. Peter had been Pope? St. Peter. Who would have presided at it? St. Peter or his legates. Who would have formed or promulgated the Canons? St. Peter.

"Well, nothing of all this occurred. The Apostle assisted at the Council as all the others did, and it was not he who summed up, but St. James; and when the decrees were promulgated, it was in the name of the Apostles and the Elders and the Brethren. (Acts xv.) . . . Neither in the writings of St. Paul, St. John, or St. James, have I found a trace or germ of the Papal power. St. Luke, the historian of the missionary labors of the Apostles, is silent on this all-important point. The silence of these holy men, whose writings make part of the Canon of the divinely inspired Scriptures, has appeared to me burdensome and impossible if Peter had been Pope, and as unjustifiable as if Thiers, writing the history of Napoleon Bonaparte, had omitted the title of Emperor. . . . That which has surprised me most, and which moreover is capable of demonstration, is the silence of St. Peter. If the Apostle had been what we proclaim

him to be, that is, the Vicar of Jesus Christ on the earth, he surely would have known it. If he had known it, how is it that not once did he act as Pope? He might have done it on the day of Pentecost when he pronounced his first sermon, and he did not do it; at the Council of Jerusalem, and he did not do it; at Antioch, and he did not do it; neither did he do it in the two letters directed to the Church. Can you imagine such a Pope, my venerable Brethren, if St. Peter had been the Pope? Now, if you wish to maintain that he was the Pope, the natural consequence arises, that he was ignorant of the fact. Now I ask whoever has a head to think and a mind to reflect, are these two suppositions possible?

"To return, I say, while the Apostles lived, the Church never thought that there could be a Pope. To maintain the contrary all the sacred writings must have been thrown to the flames, or entirely ignored. But I hear it said on all sides, Was not St. Peter at Rome? Was he not crucified with his head down? Are not the seats on which he taught, and the altars at which he said the mass, in the Eternal City? St. Peter having been at Rome, my venerable brethren, rests only on tradition. But if he had been bishop of Rome, how can you from that Episcopate prove his supremacy? Scaliger, one of the most learned of men, has not hesitated to say, that St. Peter's Episcopate and residence at Rome ought to be classed with ridiculous legends. (Repeated cries, 'Shut his mouth, shut his mouth; make him come down from the pulpit!') Venerable brethren, I am ready to be silent; but is it not better, in an assembly like this, to prove all things, as the Apostle commands, and to believe what is good? But, my venerable friends, we

have a Dictator before whom we must prostrate ourselves, and be silent all (even Pius IX.), and bow our heads. This Dictator is history."

"Monsignor Dupanloup in his celebrated Observations, on this Council of the Vatican, has said and with reason, that if we declare Pius IX. infallible, we must necessarily, and from natural logic, be obliged to hold that all his predecessors were also infallible. Well, then! venerable brethren, here History raises its voice with authority, to assure us that some Popes have erred. You may protest against it, or deny it as you please, but I will prove it.

"Pope Victor (192) first approved of Montanism, and then condemned it.

"Marcellinus (296–303) was an idolater. He entered into the temple of Vesta, and offered incense to the goddess. You will say that it was an act of weakness; but I answer, a vicar of Jesus Christ dies, but does not become an apostate.

"Liberius (358) consented to the condemnation of St. Athanasius and made a profession of Arianism, that he might be recalled from his exile, and reinstated in his See.

"Honorius (625) adhered to Monothelitism: Father Gratry has proved it to demonstration.

"Gregory I. (578–590) calls any one Anti-Christ who takes the name of Universal Bishop; and contrariwise, Boniface III. (607–608) made the parricide Emperor Phocas confer that title upon him.

"Pascal II. (1088–1099) and Eugenius III. (1145–1153) authorized duelling; Julius II. (1509) and Pius IV. (1560) forbade it. Eugenius IV. (1431–1439) approved the Council of Basle, and the restitution of

the chalice to the church of Bohemia. Pius II. (1458) revoked the concession. Hadrian II. declared civil marriages to be valid; Pius VII. (1800–1823) condemned them. Sixtus V. (1585–1595) published an edition of the Bible, and by a Bull, recommended it to be read. Pius VII. condemned the reading of it. Clement XIV. (1700–1721) abolished the order of the Jesuits, permitted by Paul III. Pius VII. re-established it. . . .

"Now, do not deceive yourselves. If you decree the dogma of Papal Infallibility, the Protestants, our adversaries, will mount in the breach, the more bold, that they have history on their side, whilst we have only our own denial against them. What can we say to them, when they show up all the Bishops of Rome from the days of Linus to his Holiness, Pius IX.?

"Ah! if they had all been Pius IX., we should triumph on the whole line; but, alas! it is not so. (Cries of 'Silence, silence; enough, enough!') Do not cry out, Monsignori! To fear history is to own yourself conquered; and moreover, if you made the whole of the waters of the Tiber to pass over it, you would not cancel a single page. Let me speak and I will be as short as is possible on this most important subject. . . .

"You know the history of Formosus too well for me to add to it. Stephen XI. made his body be exhumed, dressed in his Pontifical robes; he made the fingers which he used for giving the benediction to be cut off, and then had him thrown into the Tiber, declaring him to be a perjurer and illegitimate. He was then imprisoned by the people, poisoned, and strangled. But look how matters were readjusted.

"Romanus, successor of Stephen, and after him, John X., rehabilitated the memory of Formosus.

"But you will tell me these are fables, not history. Fables! go, Monsignori, to the Vatican library, and read Platina, the historian of the Papacy, and the annals of Baronius (A.D. 897). These are facts, which, for the honor of the Holy See, we should wish to ignore; but when it is proposed to define a dogma, which may provoke a great schism in our midst, the love which we bear to our venerable Mother Church—Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman—ought it to impose silence on us? I go on.

"The learned Cardinal Baronius, speaking of the Papal Court, says (give attention, my venerable brethren, to these words): 'What did the Roman Church appear in those days—how infamous! Only all-powerful courtesans governing in Rome! It was they who gave, exchanged, and took Bishoprics; and, horrible to relate, they got their lovers, the false Popes, put on the throne of St. Peter. . . . I can understand how the illustrious Baronius must have blushed when he narrated the acts of these Roman Bishops. Speaking of John XI., natural son of Pope Sergius and of Morozia, he wrote these words in his Annals, 'The Holy Church, that is the Roman, has been vilely trampled on by such a monster. John XII. (956), elected Pope at the age of eighteen, through the influence of courtesans, was not one bit better than his predecessor.'

"I grieve, my venerable brethren, to stir up so much filth. I am silent on Alexander VI., father and lover of Lucretia. I turn away from John XXII. (1316), who denied the immortality of the soul, and was deposed by the holy Œcumenical Council of Constance.

"Some will maintain that this Council was only a private one. Let it be so; but if you refuse any authority to it, as a logical sequence you must hold the nomination of Martin V. (1417) as illegal. What then will become of the Papal succession? Can you find the thread of it?

"I do not speak of the schisms which have dishonored the Church. In these unfortunate days the See of Rome was occupied by two and sometimes even by three competitors. Which of these was the true Pope?

"Resuming once more, again I say, if you decree the infallibility of the present Bishop of Rome, you must establish infallibility of all the preceding ones, without excluding any. But can you do that when history is there establishing, with a clearness equal to that only of the sun, that the Popes have erred in their teaching? Could you do it, and maintain that avaricious, incestuous, murdering, simoniacal Popes have been Vicars of Jesus Christ? Oh! venerable brethren to maintain such an enormity would be to betray Christ worse than Judas; it would be to throw dirt in the face of Christ. (Cries of 'Down from the pulpit—quick, shut the mouth of the heretic!') My venerable brethren, you cry out; but will it not be more dignified to weigh my reasons and my proofs in the balances of the sanctuary? Believe me, history cannot be made over again; it is there, and will remain to all eternity, to protest energetically against the dogma of Papal Infallibility."

The Fundamental Principles of Protestantism

Three Lectures Delivered in Holy Trinity Church (Harlem) New York City

Πάντα δοκιμάζετε

Protestant Principles

I

THE RULE OF FAITH, AND ITS INTERPRETER

"Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints."—S. Jude, 3.

IT is an apostolic injunction that Christians should always be ready to give an answer to every man that asketh them a reason of the hope that is in them. And to give the reasons why we are Protestants—what it is we make protest *against*, and why—what it is we make protest *for*, and why —this is certainly something which needs no *apology* at any time. Such an exposition of our faith seems, however, at the present time not only reasonable but requisite—a thing which our people and the public may properly require at the hands of those whose office it is to explain and defend the sacred truths of our holy religion.

Lectures against Protestantism are of too common occurrence in the Roman Catholic Church to excite either surprise or comment. But when, as in the case of a course of lectures now in progress

in one of the metropolitan pulpits, the arguments and accusations against the religion of Protestants pass from the pulpit to the press, and so find their way into tens of thousands of Protestant families, the case is different. For my part, at least, as a minister of a Church which is most emphatically Protestant—inasmuch as she has made the most effective as well as the wisest and the most reasonable protest against the novelties, errors, corruptions, and usurpations of the Church of Rome—I feel that I shall be only performing my simple duty as a loyal churchman, and even more as a faithful Christian teacher, in taking this opportunity of defining and defending our position as Protestants. And if, in the performance of this duty, it shall become necessary to uncover some of the dark history of the Church of Rome, and recall some of its crimes against religion, against truth, against humanity, the responsibility will rest not with me, but rather with those who have publicly arraigned the religion of Protestants before this community, and launched accusations against it, the truth or falsity of which can only be tested by an appeal to history.

Now, first of all, and before entering particularly upon the exhibition of the grounds upon which we protest against the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome, I desire to make two brief preliminary remarks. The first is that Protestantism is not, as commonly represented, a mere series of negations; denying error rather than

affirming truth; repudiating false doctrine rather than proclaiming the true.—No; we write the word "*Protestant*" on our escutcheon in its full etymological significance. A Protestant is one that *bears witness for* any person or thing; and a Protestant Church is one that "*bears witness for*" Christ and His gospel in the world. It is a name not to be ashamed of either in its origin or in its history. When our Lord Jesus Christ stood before Pilate, He said of Himself: "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, *that I should bear witness unto the truth.*" Humbly treading in the footsteps of her Divine Lord, the Protestant Church goes forth into the world having this as her aim, that she may "*bear witness unto the truth.*"

Noah was a Protestant when, by the space of forty years, he preached "righteousness" to the apostate antediluvians. Lot was a Protestant when he stood alone for God in the midst of wicked Sodom. The Jewish Nation was Protestant, standing among the nations of the earth a witness for the unity of God, the supremacy of conscience, and the sanctity of the moral law. And, supreme instance—let it never be forgotten that Christ and His apostles were Protestants in their day. They were Protestants for the truth of God, against the traditions and corruptions of the Jewish hierarchy —the established church of that day. And they not only *bore witness for* the revelation made in the incarnation of the Son of God, but *they bore*

witness against the false doctrines of the scribes and pharisees, the chief priests and elders of the Church. In like manner and in fulfilment of the injunction of the Great Head of the Church, this Church of ours bears witness among men to-day, not only *positively*, for "the faith once delivered to the saints," but *negatively*, *against* the manifold corruptions of that faith for which the Church of Rome is responsible. And, therefore, she bears on her escutcheon the glorious word "*Protestant*"—the Witness-bearer.

The other introductory remark I have to make is that though we are Protestants, *we are not heretics or separatists*.

In 1868, the late Pope Pius IX. addressed letters "to *Protestants and other non-Catholics*," inviting them to return to the bosom of Holy Mother Church as the only means of insuring their salvation.

We deny that we have ever separated from the Catholic Church. One of the articles of our faith is, "*I believe in the Holy Catholic Church*," and in this we claim and enjoy full membership by that same Spirit which joins in one communion and fellowship "the blessed company of all faithful people." In fact, the Pope and his adherents are the innovators and heretics who have departed from "the faith once delivered," who have corrupted the Christian creed, and not the Protestants who have rejected their novelties and returned to the creed and the practice of the primitive ages of Christianity. Yes, it is the Church of Rome,

and not the Church of England, which by her errors and usurpations has separated herself from the Catholic Church of Christ. When she departed from the primitive faith she became heretical, and when she made the acknowledgment of her erroneous and strange doctrines a condition of membership within her communion, she *then* forced upon men the alternative of separating from her or abandoning the faith which they were bound to "contend for." Luther and Melanchthon, Calvin and Beza, Cranmer and Ridley and Latimer—all that noble band of Reformers in the sixteenth century, chose the former alternative. They decided to obey God rather than men. *Were they therefore heretics?* Was it heresy to cleave to Christ and Christ's unchangeable truth, rather than to abandon these for the sake of union with a Church which had apostatized from the faith and required all her members to acquiesce in her apostasy? Nay, was not she the heretic who, abandoning the Holy Scriptures as her guide, taught for doctrines the commandments of men? Let it be remembered, also, that, so far as the Church of England was concerned, the Reformation was no more or less than a rebellion against a foreign yoke, and the restoration of the original ecclesiastical authority. The British Church had existed for centuries in entire independence of Rome. It had produced martyrs to the faith in the reign of Diocletian. It had sent bishops to the Councils of Arles (A.D. 314) Sardica (A.D. 347),

and Ariminum (A.D. 359). It had held numerous synods of its own. As to its orthodoxy, St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom had both borne testimony to it. But it was not until the seventh century that the Church of Rome gained a footing on the island. Her pretensions to exercise authority over the British Church were resisted. The bishops of the native Church refused to yield their customs or to receive Augustine as their archbishop. They resisted for more than a century the attempt of Rome to bring them into subjection. In short, the Church of England of that day became Romanized only after an ineffectual *protest* and a prolonged resistance on the part of the native episcopate. Moreover, that act of usurpation had already been condemned by the Council of Ephesus, in the Cypriote decree which provides "that none of the bishops . . . do assume any other province that is not or was not formerly and from the beginning subject to him, or those who were his predecessors." And again: "If any one introduce a regulation contrary to the present determination, the Holy General Synod decrees that it be of no force." It follows from all this that the Reformation was really the breaking of a foreign yoke, and the re-establishment of the old Church—the apostolic and primitive Church of England. And the *protest* of the sixteenth century was but the renewing and rendering

effective of the protest made by the British bishops in the seventh century.

And now, having stated these preliminary truths, I come to explain and defend one of the principal grounds of our protest against Romanism. I select that which is foremost of all, and fundamental to the whole controversy, viz.: *The attitude which that apostate church holds toward the Word of God, the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.*

In order that there may be no risk or suspicion of misrepresentation of the true teaching of the Romish Church, I shall quote the very words of one of their own standards, I mean the Creed of Pope Pius IV., which was published at Rome, A.D. 1564, and has now, for upwards of 300 years, been the universal symbol of doctrine in that Church. It was drawn up in conformity with the definitions of the Council of Trent, which was assembled about the middle of the sixteenth century to settle authoritatively the doctrines of the Church of Rome.

Here, then, are the declarations of this Creed upon the point under discussion:

1. "I most firmly admit and embrace the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same Church."

2. "I admit also Holy Scripture, according to that sense which Holy Mother Church, to whom it appertains to judge of the true meaning and

interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, hath holden and still holds," etc.

Now, compare with this the language of the Council of Trent:

> The Holy Œcumenical and General Council of Trent . . . receives and venerates with *equal* sentiments of piety and reverence . . . all the books of the Old and New Testaments, and also those traditions, whether pertaining to faith or to morals, which have been preserved by continual succession in the Catholic Church.

Here, then, is the first, as it is the fundamental, error against which we protest—the making tradition, *i. e.*, the alleged oral teaching of the Apostles, handed down from their times, of *equal* authority with the *written* Word of God; and the declaration that the sacred Scriptures are to be admitted only in the sense in which the *Roman* Church explains them. Our Sixth Article declares, on the contrary, that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith." When this is denied, the very foundations of the faith are sapped. Our feet no longer stand on the rock of God's written Word, but upon the uncertain and shifting sands of tradition. No wonder that the Church of Rome has been "driven about by every wind of doctrine," since she has cast anchor upon

such treacherous ground! For, mark you, as if it were not a sufficient impiety to declare the traditions of men to be of *equal authority* with the written word, she *really* exalts tradition *above* the word, by making *that* the rule of interpretation.

Let us take an example which may show how far the traditions to which the Church of Rome appeals are to be depended on. In the ninth century a stupendous forgery arose in France, under the name of the Isidorian Decretals, consisting of nearly one hundred letters written in the names of earlier bishops of Rome, together with certain spurious writings of other church dignitaries and acts of hitherto unknown councils. These documents were eagerly seized upon by Nicolas I., the then Pope, and by him and his successors were made the instrument of completely revolutionizing the constitution of the Church and developing the papal power from a mere primacy into an absolute ecclesiastical despotism.[1] For centuries these false decretals were accepted as genuine, but for now three hundred years their true character has been known, and they have been on all hands admitted to be a forgery, and a very clumsy forgery at that. Even the most extreme partisans of Rome now admit this—indeed the Popes themselves have admitted it; yet the radical changes which they were instruments of introducing remain.

[1] See Robertson's *Church History*, 1874, vol. iii., p. 325–6, and Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 69. Phila., 1836.

Now one cannot help asking, what dependence is to be placed on the *traditions* which the Church of Rome professes to have preserved since the time of the Apostles, if she has either ignorantly or designedly accepted a gross forgery for so many centuries, and made it the support and foundation of doctrines and usages which she has insisted on as vital to the true constitution of the Church. And this is only one of numerous examples in which the *infallible* Church of Rome has accepted and magnified the authority of documents which have subsequently been proved and admitted to be forgeries. If she is thus incapable of distinguishing the true from the false among the writings and documents of her own bishops and synods, how, then, are we to trust her when she presents us with so-called traditions, handed down from the age of the Apostles?[1] And how can we do otherwise than *protest* against her impiety when we see the plainest declarations of the sacred Scriptures made void by her pretended traditions?

In our Saviour's time, the Pharisees appealed to *tradition*, but our Lord made His appeal ever to the *Scriptures*. He charged them with transgressing the commandments of God by their tradition. His words to them are most applicable to-day to the heretical Church of Rome: "*Thus*

[1] Nay, since these decretals pretended to cover a portion of the first century, and to give the sentiments of men contemporary with the Apostles, they afford an actual example of forgeries being accepted as genuine traditions of the Apostolic age.

have ye made the word of God of none effect by your tradition" (Matt. xv. 6). "*In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*" (v. 9). He said to the Jews, "*Search the Scriptures*"; He never said, "Search *your traditions.*" Moreover, it was their adherence to the *traditions of the elders* which so prejudiced the minds of the Jewish hierarchy that they could not recognize the claims of Christ to be the Messiah.

The authority of Christ is, therefore, against the principle of setting up tradition on the same pedestal with the word of God.[1]

But again, Rome teaches that the Bible is only to be accepted according to the sense which the church puts upon it. Let us take an example or two of the church's interpretation.

1. Our Lord's words to St. Peter: "Satan hath desired to have thee, that he might sift thee as wheat, but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren." This, we are told by Roman Catholic interpreters since Pope Agatho, A.D. 680, contains a grant of special privileges to the bishops of Rome, as successors of St. Peter. It is the chief passage relied on to establish the dogma of Papal

[1] Protestants do not deny that what the Apostles delivered orally was of equal authority with what they wrote, but they reject the traditions of the Church of Rome, because she cannot prove them to be *genuine*. Hence 2 Thess. ii. 15, which is the refuge of the Romish controversialist on this subject, really lends him no protection or support.

Infallibility! And this, although not one of the eighteen Fathers who comment on the passage, gives any hint of such an interpretation.[1]

2. The fact that Peter walked on the sea was alleged by Pope Innocent III. as conclusive evidence that his successors are entitled to rule the nations! This was declared by him in a letter addressed to the Patriarch of Constantinople, in which he claimed that "*Christ had committed the government of the whole world to the Popes.*"[2]

3. Matt. xvi. 18: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Of all the fathers who interpret these words not a single one applies them to the Roman bishops as Peter's successors. Origen, Chrysostom, Hilary, Augustine, Cyril, Theodoret, and others have commented upon them; but "not one of them has explained the rock or foundation on which Christ would build His church of the office given to Peter to be transmitted to his successors."[3]

But this passage is the great stronghold of the pretensions of Rome, so far as she professes to give her authority in Scripture. Now the Tridentine Confession of Faith contains a vow "never to interpret Scripture otherwise than in accord with the unanimous consent of the fathers," *i. e.*,

[1] *The Pope and the Council*, p. 75. Edition of 1870. Boston.

[2] Innoc. III., lib. ii., 209. Ad Patr. Constantin: Dominus Petro non solum Universam Ecclesiam, sed totum reliquit sæculum gubernandum. *Id.*, p. 133.

[3] *Id.*, p. 74.

the great church doctors of the first six centuries. Hence the Romish clergy, in interpreting this passage as they do, violate their oath.

Such interpretations as these, proceeding from the supposed "infallible" popes—in conflict with common sense, in conflict with the laws of sound exegesis, in conflict with the exposition given by the fathers of the church—may serve to show how deceitfully the Church of Rome deals with Holy Scripture. "Private interpretation," says Dr. Preston, "has virtually declared the Bible to be of straw."[1] But papal and Roman interpretation has actually used the Bible as a piece of wax, to be pressed into whatever shape the exigencies of their cause may demand.

The real truth is, the Church of Rome is afraid of the Word of God, unless supplemented and overlaid by her traditions. This is not an empty assertion; it is based on Roman Catholic authority. Witness the following declarations authorized by the Council of Trent: "If the Holy Scriptures be everywhere allowed indiscriminately in the vulgar tongue, more harm than good will arise from it." And again: "If any one shall presume to read or possess a Bible, without a license, he shall not receive absolution, except he first deliver it up." It is true that Douay Bibles are sometimes exposed for sale in Roman Catholic book shops, but so high an authority of their own as Dens tells us

[1] New York *World*, Dec. 9, 1878.

this is *a relaxation of the rule*, permitted in *Protestant* countries.[1]

The difference between us and the Church of Rome upon this whole matter may be summed up thus: the Bible and the Bible alone is the basis of the religion of Protestants. Tradition, interpreting the Bible, and often superseding or contradicting it, furnishes the Romanist with his religion. The Protestant Church loves the Bible. The Roman Church fears it. The Protestant Church gives the Bible to the people in their own tongue, and spreads the knowledge of it by means of translations into four hundred languages and dialects. The Roman Church keeps it away from the people, and has proved on numerous well-known occasions that she would rather see men burn it than read it.

Our Roman assailant says, "Protestantism has torn the Bible to pieces."[2] But even that is not so bad as *burning* it, for the leaves of the torn Bible, borne by the winds of heaven over the earth, may carry the message of life and immortality to mankind;—the single verse: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, etc.," once led a poor Hindu out of his heathen darkness into the light;—but when it is *burned*, its power to bless is gone, for men cannot read its message in its ashes, and the only voice it then has

[1] "More indulgence has been granted only when it was necessary to live among heretics." Dens: *Tractate Concerning Rules of Faith*, N. 64.

[2] *The Results of the Reformation*, p. 38.

is that of anathema against the sacrilegious hand that committed it to the fire.[1]

But it is alleged that there is no agreement among Protestants as to the doctrines contained in the Bible, and that this results from the principle of private judgment, which produces endless divisions and differences among them; and then it is declared triumphantly that God is not the author of confusion, and therefore cannot be the author of Protestantism. Is the Roman Catholic Church, then, a household free from differences and divisions and conflicts? Are *its* interpretations of Scripture consistent and harmonious?

Take, for instance, the controversy about Predestination, which was referred to last Sunday evening in such a manner as to lead the audience to suppose that it was one of the dire results of the Reformation. The speaker traced the genesis of this doctrine to the reformed theology: "So came the theory of Predestination." But what are the facts? Is that doctrine indeed peculiar to Protestants? And has the controversy about it been confined to Protestant churches? Three undeniable historical facts will suffice to determine. The first is, that more than a thousand years before the Reformation the theory of Predestination was ably and elaborately expounded by St. Augustine, who is by many held to be the greatest of the

[1] A Manila paper of February 3, 1914 gives an account of the burning of 2500 Bibles in the Plaza at Vigan, P. I., by the Friars of the R. C. Church.

fathers, and is claimed by the Church of Rome as one of *her* theologians. The second is, that in the *ninth* century the church was convulsed by this controversy in the well-known case of the monk Gottschalk, and for ten years it raged with great fury. It might be described in the language used by Dr. Preston, in his picture of the dissensions of Protestants: "Pulpit stands against pulpit, and individual against individual, and church against church"—for bishop was arrayed against bishop, theologian against theologian, council against council![1] The third fact of history is, that in the seventeenth century the same controversy convulsed the Romish Church, maintained by the Jansenists on one side and the Jesuits on the other, with a bitterness certainly never surpassed by Protestants.[2] The conflicts between the religious orders, each contending for supremacy, each striving to aggrandize his party, furnish another conclusive instance. Again, what could have been more bitter than the controversies at the last

[1] See Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., pp. 50–54.

[2] The bitterness of this long-continued controversy (it lasted from 1640 to 1713), and the unavailing efforts of the Popes to restore harmony and agreement in doctrine, afford a crucial example of the hollowness of the claims of Romish controversialists, that peace and harmony are to be found only in the bosom of the Church of Rome. Four successive popes gave their authoritative and, of course, "infallible," decisions upon the matters in controversy, but still the conflict was not ended. At one time the whole body of the French clergy, except four bishops, refused to submit to the decision of the Pope (Alexander VII.), though threatened with excommunication.

Roman Catholic Council in 1870, on the subject of the new dogma of Infallibility? And to-day, how wide apart are the parties which are struggling for the mastery in the Church of Rome!

It is true that, when a decision is reached, the opposition generally submit. Of all the learned prelates who denounced with so much fervor and refuted with so much eloquence the new dogma of Infallibility at the Vatican Council in 1870, all, I believe, with *one*, or possibly *two*, exceptions, finally gave in their submission to the decree making that dogma a part of the creed of the church. But such submission is no proof of real unity. Those bishops are in their hearts as little convinced of the truth of that blasphemous doctrine as ever. But they submit—because the Church of Rome is an ecclesiastical monarchy, yea, an absolute spiritual despotism. We Protestants prefer liberty of conscience and freedom of thought, even at the cost of external uniformity. But Rome has ever been a foe to liberty, whether civil or ecclesiastical. The friends of constitutional liberty should never forget that it was a pope of Rome who pronounced the *Magna Charta*, upon which English liberty is based, *null* and *void*, and excommunicated the barons who obtained it from the unwilling hands of King John.

This is the reason she is, externally, free from divisions; but surely such uniformity is purchased very dearly at the price of liberty of thought and supremacy of conscience.

And, after all, *unity* is not secured. They reproach us with our divisions; but it may be safely affirmed that there is even more *unity* and *agreement* among the leading Protestant Churches to-day than there is in the Roman Catholic Church. Any traveler will tell you that the Roman Catholic Church in New York is as different from the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico, or in Spain, or in South America, as the Presbyterian Churches differ from the Dutch Reformed, or the Episcopal from the Methodist Episcopal. In pulpit teaching, in ceremonies, in practical rules of living, there is *more* difference in the former case than the latter. I tell you, brethren, this boasted unity of the Roman Catholic Church is a sham and a delusion; it is nominal rather than real, external rather than vital. So, too, with *the interpretation of Scripture.* Private judgment, they say, is a false and dangerous guide; endless conflicting interpretations result from it. And so "the Bible ceases to be a guide to faith, since its pages take the color of the individual reader's education or ignorance." The Church alone is the safe guide and the true interpreter. Of course, then, we are to expect harmony and consistency in the *Church's* interpretations! But we find no such thing; not only has she added[1] new doctrines—*e. g.*, in our

[1] The Creed of Pius IV. contains twelve new articles of faith, bound upon the church, in express violation of the decree of the Fourth Œcumenical Council, which anathematized any who should dare to "compile, put together, hold, or teach others" any other than the Nicene Creed.

own generation, the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility—but her highest dignitaries contradict each other in their interpretations of Scripture. Thus two popes of Rome declared it to be so indispensable for infants to receive communion that those who die without it go straight to hell. Yet the Council of Trent, which Pope Pius IV. indorsed and bound upon the whole Church, anathematized this doctrine. This is a greater difference than there is between Baptists and Episcopalians! Pope Pelagius declared the invocation of the Trinity necessary in order to validity of baptism (A.D. 555–60); but another pope (Nicolas I.) assured the Bulgarians that baptism in the name of Christ alone was sufficient!

Celestine III. declared the marriage tie dissolved if either party became heretical. Innocent III. annulled this decision, and Adrian VI. called Celestine a heretic for giving it! And upon so vital a doctrine as that of the Divinity of Christ, Liberius, one of the early bishops of Rome, was himself heretical. Yes, one of their infallible popes, upon whose interpretations of Scripture the whole world of scholars and theologians is bidden to wait, actually subscribed an Arian creed, though Arianism is by that very same church pronounced (as it indeed is) a most dangerous heresy!

Such facts as these are not suggestive of unity, consistency, or truth. They cannot but create

the suspicion that this church, which claims to be an infallible interpreter of the Bible, has not improved upon private judgment, even in the colors in which she paints it. In short, it looks very much as if Dr. Preston's charge against Protestantism was at least as true against his own church, for the pages of the Bible seem to have "*taken the color of the individual* [Pope's] education or ignorance," or at least of his fears or ambitions.

To look, then, for certainty and rest in the Roman Catholic Church, because she claims to be an infallible interpreter, is to pursue an *ignis fatuus:* it is to guide our steps by a misleading light, begotten of corruption and decay, rather than by the fainter but purer and truer light of the polar star. For ourselves it is sufficient to know that the Holy Ghost is the author of Holy Scripture, and thence to conclude without doubt that it is not so written as to be an unintelligible puzzle to the earnest and patient inquirer, especially since one of the evangelists assures us that it was written "that we might believe that Jesus is the Christ," and "that believing we might have life through His name."[1] And while there is much in the sacred volume which we may comprehend but imperfectly at best, and many matters upon which the wisest interpreters will continue to differ, we can rest

[1] S. John xx. 31.

in the assurance that upon the fundamental[1] and practical and necessary truths, its testimony is so plain that a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein.

[1] Upon the import of this word in connection with Christian doctrine, see Chillingworth's great work.

II

THE WAY OF LIFE

"Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"—S. Matt. vii. 3.

IN resuming the subject upon which it was my privilege to address you last Sunday evening, it is proper that I should again remind you that this discussion of the claims of Romanism is not of our seeking. Far more congenial is it to our tastes, and far more consonant with the genius of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to leave our fellow Christians of the Roman Catholic Church to be fully persuaded in their own minds, while we spend our strength in the exposition of positive truth and the enforcement of practical religion. But our Protestant faith has recently been publicly and vehemently assailed in this city. The pulpit has thundered forth denunciations of the Reformers and the Reformation, and the pamphlet and the newspaper have echoed and re-echoed them over the land. A picture, dark and dire, of the results of the Reformation has been drawn, and copies of it scattered by the daily press among thousands of Protestant families. Men are assured that it has

been destructive of morality, of society, of the Christian Church, and of the Christian Creed. Finally, they are warned that Protestantism is the parent of infidelity, and that there is but one alternative for reasonable men—infidelity or the Catholic (*i. e.*, the Roman) Church.[1]

Under these circumstances, Protestant teachers seem called upon to repel and refute the slanders against their faith, and to expose the groundlessness of the arrogant claims of the Papal Church.

In order to this end it will be enough (without entering upon the whole broad field of controversy which would be both tedious and unprofitable for you) to establish two or three principles which are fundamental—which are, so to speak, the key positions of the battlefield between us and Rome. If, then, I shall pass over in this discussion many minor points, it will not be because they are not defensible, but because my limits forbid their defense. If I shall fail to notice some of the many slanders against the Reformers or the Reformation, it will not be because they cannot be refuted, but because I have not space to refute them. The lectures against Protestantism delivered in St. Ann's Church are in the nature of an *indictment;* and, of course, the defense of the accused requires more time and space than the mere formulation of the charges. But if the chief matters alleged are shown to be without ground in fact and reason,

[1] *Results of the Protestant Reformation*, p. 41.

the general untrustworthiness of the accusers will have been shown and the indictment will fail.

In pursuance of this plan, your attention was called on Sunday evening last to the *first*, as it is also the *fundamental*, ground of our solemn protest against the Papal Church, viz.: its attitude toward the Sacred Scriptures. I showed you that by first putting forward a pretended body of tradition—*i. e.*, of teaching alleged to have been delivered *orally* by the apostles, and subsequently committed to writing by the Fathers, and so handed down to the present day—and then making this pretended tradition the rule by which the Scriptures are to be interpreted, she dishonors and makes void the word of God, as the Pharisees did of old, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men; whereas we Protestants, following the precepts of Scripture itself, make *our* appeal to the *written* word, as the only sure and certain deposit of revelation. "To the law and to the testimony: If they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." To exemplify the folly of accepting her pretended apostolic tradition, I pointed out how, for about eight centuries, she accepted as genuine the famous pseudo-Isidorian Decrees, which the world of scholars, including even the Jesuits, has now for a long time declared to have been a forgery—thus conclusively proving that she has not kept even her own *papal* traditions pure, and thereby giving all men sufficient

ground for refusing to accept her pretended *apostolic* tradition.

I next proceeded to expose the weakness of her claim to be the only interpreter, and the infallible interpreter, too, of the Sacred Scriptures, by giving examples of absurd, and again of contradictory, interpretations put forward by her popes, in whom, according to their present doctrine, the infallibility of the Church resides. I showed you how they contradicted, in these interpretations, by turns, the laws of language, the writings of the Fathers, and each other; and I went on to expose the inconsistency of charging Protestants with divisions and dissensions, when most of the very same disputes have raged within her own bosom, and she actually presents differences of teaching and of practice in different parts of the world quite as great as are to be found in the leading Protestant churches of Christendom.

From all this I argued that the boasted unity of the Papal Church was a sham and a delusion—at best the outward union which exists under an absolute despotism, and not that "unity of the spirit" whose only bonds are Faith, Hope, and Charity.

From the rule of faith, I pass this evening to The Way of Life. When we have determined the rule by which all religious questions are to be settled, at once we are confronted by that greatest of all such questions, "*What must I do to be saved?*" The respective answers given by Romish and

Protestant Christianity to this question indicate the second great fundamental difference between them.

Here, then, is Rome's answer: First, you must be baptized and in baptism you will receive the benefits of Christ's atonement, and, if you put no bar in the way (*obicem*), you will thereby be cleansed from all your sins, original and actual, and be restored to the purity which Adam had before the fall. But, if by committing sin (and who does not commit sin?) you lose this state of purity, you must then resort to the priest, who sits in the *Tribunal of Penance*, and kneeling before him you must confess all your *mortal* sins—whispering them into his ear. From him you will then receive absolution in these words, "I absolve thee," and this you are to understand as a *judicial act*, whereby pardon is conveyed as by a judge. Says the Council of Trent: "If any one shall say that the sacramental absolution of the priest is not a judicial act, but a bare ministerial act of pronouncing and declaring to the person confessing, that his sins are forgiven . . . let him be accursed."[1] This done, you are restored to your baptismal purity. But are you released from the penalty of your sins? No; only from *eternal* punishment. You have still to endure *temporal* punishment on account of them, in this life, if it shall be long enough; if not, then in *Purgatory*. You may lighten this, however, by masses, by

[1] *Council of Trent*, p. 102. Paris, 1832.

almsdeeds, fasts, pilgrimages, penances of various kinds, prescribed by the priest, your judge.

In case of *venial* sin confession is not necessary; it may be removed by good works and extreme unction. As often, however, as any "*mortal sin*" is committed, you must repair to the Tribunal of Penance and be restored, and if, after death, any of your allotted punishment yet remains unendured, or if any "*venial* sin" be yet unatoned for, it is to be taken away in Purgatory. "Furthermore," says the Council of Trent, "there is a purgatorial fire, in which the souls *of the pious*, after having been tormented for a definite time, are purified so that an entrance into their Eternal Home may be opened."[1] The Pope, however, has power to remit the temporal punishment of sin, even when the sinner is in Purgatory.[2] He holds the keys of the Church's treasury of superabundant merits, and by these and also by masses, the pains of Purgatory may be lightened or shortened. If, therefore, you, being rich, leave behind you when you die, besides your money, affectionate relatives who are willing to spend your money (or theirs) for masses on your account,

[1] *Catechism of the Council of Trent.* Art. on "Descent into Hell."

[2] "Trionfo, commissioned by John XXII. to expound the rights of the Pope, showed that, as the dispenser of the merits of Christ, *he could empty Purgatory at one stroke.*" (See *The Pope and the Council*, p. 186.) This, however, he advised him by no means to do—probably because it would be to kill the goose that laid the golden egg.

you may hope that *your* term of suffering in the fires of Purgatory will be shortened. If not, not. If you are poor, the only resort is to join a "*Purgatorian Society*," in which, by a small weekly payment, a sum may be accumulated which will be put to your account in the spiritual bank of Purgatory, the key of which is kept by the priests.

If this be true, then, the atonement of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was not sufficient to take away sin! It must be supplemented by purgatorial fires! Then all those precious assurances of forgiveness and redemption in His blood, of adoption into the family of God, and obtaining a joint inheritance with Christ, are to be explained away and made void; and we are to understand them to mean that after we have passed through the fires of Purgatory, *then* we will be cleansed from our sins! According to this interpretation, when our Lord said to the dying thief, "*This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*," his meaning must have been "This day thou shall be with me in *Purgatory!*" And when St. Paul said, "*I have a desire to depart, and to be with Christ*," he must have meant, "*I have a desire to depart, and go to Purgatory, which is far better than to be in this world.*" And when he wrote to the Corinthians, "*We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God—a house not made with hands*," no doubt he was referring to the *prison house*, where the souls of the pious expiate in fire the sins of the body!

Alas! alas! what an awful perversion is this of the gospel of peace!

Well does the great Hooker exclaim, "This is the mystery of the man of sin. This maze the Church of Rome doth cause her followers to tread, when they ask her the way of justification."[1]

It is, indeed, a *maze*—a dark and devious path, full of thorns and briers. How different from the straight and narrow way which the Scriptures reveal, and in which the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err! Against such a corruption and perversion of the gospel, the Church of England made fervent protest three hundred years ago, as she does still to-day. When men ask her what they must do to be saved, she points them to Jesus Christ, and says with the Baptist: "*Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world*"; or with St. Paul: "*Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved*"; or with Christ Himself: "*If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth*"; "*Whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life.*"

She remembers that Jesus said to the publican, who confessed his sins to God, not to a priest, "*This man went down to his house justified,*" and, therefore, she bids her children go directly to their Father in Heaven with their sins and shortcomings. She remembers that the same Jesus said to the broken-hearted penitent who wept at His feet, "*Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace,*" and,

[1] Hooker's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 489. Oxford, 1865.

therefore, she teaches sinful men and women to repent, as she repented, in sorrow and shame, forsaking their sins, and casting themselves at Jesus' feet for pardon; and she certifies them that, so doing, they shall obtain like assurance that they, too, are saved by faith, and "*may go in peace*"—fully and freely forgiven. She exhorts the penitent sinner to receive the sacraments, as "sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace," but she repudiates utterly the idea of *justification* by the sacraments. She authorizes her ministers to "declare and pronounce" absolution and remission of sins to all who truly repent; but not as a judicial but a ministerial act—judging that no human priesthood is now to stand as a necessary medium between man and God. She teaches that "we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings,"[1] and concludes that "the doctrine of justification by faith only is most wholesome and full of comfort."

Such is the Protestant explanation of the way of salvation. Any one who reads the New Testament candidly cannot but see that it is the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles.

But the Roman Catholic theologians denounce this central doctrine of the Reformation in unmeasured terms. "I do not know," says a recent assailant, "any more immoral theory than this.

[1] Article XI.

I do not know anything which leads more directly to carelessness of life."[1] And the reason he gives for this is that the Reformers held that good works were not possible nor were they necessary.

Now, you may judge of the truth of this last statement by simply opening your Prayer Books, and turning to the XIIth Article, which declares that although "good works cannot put away our sins and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet they are pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith; insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit."

Remember that the Articles of the Church of England are in harmony with the Augsburg Confession and the other principal Protestant Confessions on the Continent, and you will see that *the reverse* of what this accuser affirms is true. The words of Hooker are apposite here:

"It is a childish cavil wherewith in the matter of justification our adversaries do so greatly please themselves, exclaiming that we tread all Christian virtues under our feet, and require nothing in Christians but faith, because we teach that faith alone justifieth, whereas we, by this speech, never meant to exclude either *hope* or *charity* from being always *joined as inseparable mates* with faith in the man that is justified, or works from being added as necessary duties, required at the hands of every justified man,

[1] *Results of the Protestant Reformation*, p. 8.

but to show that faith is the only hand which putteth on Christ unto justification, and Christ the only garment which, being so put on, covereth the shame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfections of our works, preserveth us blameless in the sight of God, before whom, otherwise, the very weakness of our faith was cause sufficient to make us culpable, yea, to shut us out from the Kingdom of Heaven," where nothing that is not absolute can enter.[1]

Again:

"What, then, is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that she requireth works at their hands that will be saved, but that she attributeth unto works a power of satisfying God for sin, and a virtue to merit both grace here and in heaven glory.[2]"

The charge, therefore, that the Reformers denied that good works were possible, though true, if by "good" is meant absolutely pure and without imperfection, is false in the sense intended in this discussion—that is, the ordinary popular sense of the word. And the other charge, that they denied that good works were necessary to salvation, though true in the sense that they have no part in *justification*, is also false in the only sense in which it has any force to prove this charge against Protestantism. In other words, the quotations by which this charge is sought to be substantiated have no relevancy, and in reality lend no support to the charge, and no educated theologian could have

[1] *Works*, iii., p. 530. [2] *Works*, iii., pp. 531–32.

been ignorant that to quote them for such a purpose was disingenuous and dishonest. But perhaps a Roman Catholic disputant is not so much to blame as other men for "paltering in a double sense," since his Church, which he believes infallible, has canonized the ethical writer who teaches that it is lawful to equivocate and to confirm your equivocation with an oath!

Before leaving this division of my subject, I may call attention to a curious inconsistency of the Roman Catholic theologians. They are horrified at the notion of the *imputation of the righteousness of Christ* to the believer (a doctrine, by the way, not held by all Protestants), and yet one of their own popes (who, of course, was *infallible!*)—I mean Gregory VII.—declared that "every rightly appointed Pope becomes a saint through the imputed merits of St. Peter." It became, therefore, and is to-day, the doctrine of the Church of Rome that every Pope is holy and infallible, "but his holiness is imputed, not inherent, so that if he have no merits of his own he inherits those of his predecessor, St. Peter."[1]

But the controversialists of the Church of Rome allege that the *practice* as well as the theory of the Reformers was immoral, and that one of the first great results of the Reformation was a general depravation of morals.

This is the terrible accusation. *What is the proof?*

[1] See *The Pope and the Council*, pp. 92–93.

First. They point to the Anabaptists and other fanatical Antinomian sects in the sixteenth century, and declare them to have been the "genuine children of the Reformation."[1] But how can this be maintained, in the face of the well-known fact that Luther and all the leaders of the Reformation denounced and opposed them to the uttermost?

And if the springing up of heretical sects after the Reformation proves that that movement could not be from God, we are bound, by parity of reason, to conclude that Christianity itself was not from God, because even in the Apostles' days "damnable heresies" arose; and when Justin Martyr came to write his *Apology*, about fifty years after the death of St. John, their name was already legion. Let it be also borne in mind that that which happened to the doctrine of the Reformers respecting justification by faith only, is the same thing which happened to the doctrine of St. Paul (from whom, indeed, they derived it), as St. Peter records, where he says that they which were unlearned and unstable wrested his teaching, as they did, also, the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction (2 Pet. iii. 16); as St. Jude also declares, where he says that certain ungodly men had crept in unawares who turned the grace of God into lasciviousness (verse 4); and as St. John also clearly implies, where he warns his "little children," "Let no man deceive you: he that doeth righteousness is righteous" (1 John iii. 7).

[1] *Results*, etc., p. 14.

If the charge in question, then, is good against Protestantism, it is equally good against Christianity itself, so far as this part of the alleged proof goes.

Secondly. It is alleged that the Reformers themselves acknowledged the awful corruption of morals which followed the Reformation; and passages are quoted from Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, and others, lamenting over the impiety and ungodliness and profligacy of the people. Could anything be more irrelevant? One might as well quote the lamentations of Isaiah and Jeremiah over the wickedness of Judah as a proof that Judaism was not of Divine origin; or the awful catalogue of the crimes of his day, which the Apostle Paul gives in the first chapter of Romans, in proof of the proposition, "The Christian religion was not a Divine revelation." What ought to have been shown to serve this purpose was that this state of morals *grew out* of the Reformation. The accusation falls, because the accuser fails to connect the accused with the crime, a rather essential point in order to conviction.

It is true that it is asserted that the Reformation was immediately followed by "an immorality and a lewdness such as the world had not known since pagan days."[1] But even if this assertion were true (which it is not), it would still be necessary to show that there was no *other* cause out of which this state of things could have grown.

[1] *Id.*, p. 20.

Thirdly. The personal character of the Reformers is impugned. Now, Protestants do not build their doctrine upon them. *Their* only foundation is Christ and His Apostles. On these our Church is built. From the Reformers we received the Bible in our own tongue and the liberty to read it; but we do not acknowledge them as apostles or Popes. The Protestant churches own no head but Christ. Hence they could not be shaken by this charge, even if it were true.

I shall, therefore, make but one remark, and that concerns the only *specification* which this pamphlet contains to support its allegation on this head, viz.: that the priests and nuns who identified themselves with the Reformation violated their vows of celibacy by marrying. It is enough, with Bishop Jewel, to reply that these men and women had been taught by the Pope's own decrees—"*That thou hast unadvisedly vowed, see thou do it not.*"[1]

This, then, is all the evidence brought forward. I submit that it is entirely inadequate to sustain so grievous a charge.

But it is time to turn from the accused to the accuser. What is the character of this Church, whose champions bring against Protestantism this slanderous accusation? What has been *its* theory and practice in the domain of morals? Let us see.

[1] *Works*, vol. iv., p. 566. Oxford, 1848.

1st. *As to her theory of morals.*

Of this you may judge by the fact that, in the year 1839, Alphonsus Liguori was canonized by the Church of Rome, and his works recommended to her people for their instruction, the Papal Bull declaring that they do not contain "one word worthy of censure."

Yet this writer says "it is a common and certain opinion among all divines that it is lawful to use equivocation in common conversation, and to confirm it by an oath."[1] He also justifies dissimulation,[2] and holds that oaths, contrary to the interests of the Church, are perjuries, not oaths, and that it is lawful to "induce another to commit a less evil that he may be impeded from a greater."[3]

This is sufficient to serve our purpose. Certainly, so far as *the theory of morals* is concerned, it may be said to the Church of Rome: "First cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye" (St. Matt. vii. 5).

2d. *As to her practice.*

Two centuries before the Reformation, a prominent Roman Catholic prelate, Bishop Durandus, of Mende, wrote of the papal court as follows:

"It is always sending out into the various dioceses immoral clerks (*i. e.*, clergy), provided with benefices,

[1] *Moral Theology*, vol. ii., p. 118. Venice, 1828.
[2] Vol. i., p. 364.
[3] Vol. ii., p. 120.

whom the bishops are obliged to receive, while they have no persons fit for the work of the Church. It is continually extorting large sums from prelates, to be shared between the Pope and his cardinals, and by this simony is corrupting the Universal Church to the utmost of its power.[1]"

This, remember, is the language of a man whose loyalty to the Church is unsuspected—of a man, indeed, who believed in the Pope's absolute dominion over the kings of the earth. His testimony does not stand alone. It is only one note in a vast chorus of accusations which for centuries before Luther had been heard in all parts of Christendom. It was not Milton, the Protestant poet, but Dante, the Roman Catholic, the immortal author of *The Divine Comedy*, who applied to the popes the apocalyptic prophecy of the Harlot of the Seven Hills, drunken with the blood of the saints. And where had he learned this interpretation? Not from some Protestant or heretical commentator, but from an illustrious Roman Catholic divine, a cardinal, a general of his order, a saint, a man held in high honor at Rome, who, nevertheless, in his commentary on the Apocalypse applied that famous prophecy to Rome.

St. Bonaventure it is who declares that "the prelates, corrupted by Rome, infect the clergy with their vices; and the clergy, by their evil example of avarice and profligacy, poison and lead to perdition the whole Christian people."[2]

[1] See *The Pope and the Council*, p. 181. [2] *Id.*, 184.

Alvaro Pelayo, another highly honored bishop, and Petrarch, another famous Italian poet, give testimony equally as strong in language of terrible severity.

And long before their time the voice of the great St. Bernard had been raised to rebuke the tyranny and oppression of the popes; while St. Hildegard, the prophetess of the Rhine, rebuked their pride and predicted their humiliation. Two centuries after her, St. Bridget, the great prophetess of the North, cried aloud, in the name of the Lord: "O Pope, thou art worse than Lucifer; more unjust than Pilate; more of a foe to me than Judas; more of an abomination to me than the Jews themselves."[1]

As in the fourteenth century, so also in the fifteenth. Bishops and abbots and theologians cried out almost in despair at the corruption into which the Church had fallen, and, above all, the shameless abuses, oppressions, impieties of the popes and their courts. A Roman Catholic writer of the present century says:

There is something almost enigmatical about the universal profligacy of that age. In whole dioceses and countries of Christian Europe clerical concubinage was so general that it no longer excited any surprise.[2] Every one who came from Rome brought back word that in the metropolis of Christendom, and

[1] Mansi, tom. xxx., pp. 715–18. See *The Church's Creed, or, The Crown's Creed.* E. S. Ffoulkes, B.D. Pott & Amery, 1869.

[2] *The Pope and the Council*, p. 280.

in the bosom of the great mother and mistress of all churches, the clergy, with scarcely an exception, kept concubines.[1]

In the sixteenth century—the Reformation era—matters were just as bad. When the Lateran Council assembled in 1516, Cardinal Pucci said publicly: "Rome, the Roman prelates, and the bishops daily sent forth from Rome, are the joint causes of the manifold errors and corruptions in the Church. Unless we recover our good fame, which is almost wholly lost, it is all up with us."

It was in this period that Pope Leo X., to replenish his exhausted treasury, sent out his legates into different parts of Europe with stores of indulgences to be sold to the people according to a fixed tariff, which set the price for every transgression and for absolution from the worst sins, murder, incest, and the like. It was this shameful traffic, whereby sins and crimes were made matter of bargain and sale, which precipitated the Reformation in Germany.[2]

Later, when the Council of Trent met, the very

[1] *Id.*, p. 281. And "when the vicar of Innocent VIII. wanted to forbid this, the Pope made him withdraw his edict, 'Propter quod talis effecta est vita sacerdotum et curialum ut vix reperiatur qui concubinam non retineat, vel saltem meretricem.'"

[2] Ex-Governor Axtell, of New Mexico, reports that the Jesuits in that Territory are in the habit of granting indulgences, to such as can pay for them, for incestuous marriages. A conflict arose with the civil authority because of objection by it to these indulgences. (*Standard of the Cross*, a weekly paper no longer published.)

first speech was in the same strain, denouncing the cruelty, the avarice, the pride, and devastation wrought by the Italian bishops. It was said that even Luther never spoke more severely.

And now let us clinch all this testimony by evidence, which must certainly be infallible, viz.: the confession of a Pope.

"You will say [said Adrian VI.[1] to his legate] that we frankly admit that God has permitted this judgment to fall upon His Church for the sins of men, chiefly priests and prelates of the Church. . . . We know that in this holy seat there have been many enormities now for some years past and abuses in spiritual things, . . . all things, in short, perverted."

So honest a Pope could not long be tolerated in Rome. He died, it is said, by poison, in 1523.

Such is the picture which the Church of Rome presented at the time of the Reformation and for several hundred years previous. Several questions present themselves:

1. If the immorality and irreligion which prevailed in Europe *after* the Reformation were the results of that great movement, whence came the immorality and irreligion which *preceded* the Reformation, and which had its chief source and its most hideous example in Rome itself?

[1] The last non-Italian Pope; ruled only one year, 1522; a man of ascetic piety. He openly confessed, through his legate at the Diet of Nurnberg, that the Church was corrupt and diseased from the Pope to the members. See Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i., p. 92.

2. If the alleged immorality of the Reformers proves that the Reformation was from beneath and not from above, what does the known and notorious wickedness of the Romish hierarchy during long centuries, sometimes even in the papal chair itself, prove regarding the Church of Rome?

3. If the Reformation is discredited by the fact that Luther renounced the celibate state, which God did not ordain, and entered into the married state, which God did ordain, what is to be thought of a church which has been presided over by dissolute boys like John XII. and Benedict IX., sitting in the papal chair,[1] especially when it is remembered that the Protestant Church does not rest upon the Reformers, but on Christ, and that it lays no claim to infallibility, whereas the Roman Catholic Church is built upon the Pope, who is called the Vicar of Christ, yea, even the *Vice-God*,[2] whom all men are required to believe and obey?

4. May not Protestants, in view of the dark history of the papacy, a leaf of which I have opened to-night, be excused for reminding their Roman Catholic critics of the precept of our Lord: "First cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then

[1] John XII., "the most dissolute of his race," ascended the papal throne at the age of 18 (A.D. 955). Benedict IX. (A.D. 1033), on his accession, was "a boy of only twelve years of age, but an adept in the most infamous vices." (See Kurtz's *History of Christian Church*, sec. 126, 1.)

[2] So Bellarmine.

shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye?"

I leave you to answer these questions for yourselves, and by your answer to form your opinion of this latest attack upon our Protestant religion. You will be able then to judge of the sophistry which Rome's champions seldom scruple to employ, and to determine what value is to be attached to the arguments or allegations of controversialists, who—being members of a church which sanctions equivocation, dissimulation, and the disregard of oaths, which offers to the highest bidder the benefits of her alleged power over the issues of the future life, which has over and again sold indulgences to men according to a fixed tariff, which has exhibited in her hierarchy the most appalling ungodliness, claiming all the while infallibility—yet presume to arraign Protestantism as the fruitful mother of immorality.[1]

[1] See NOTE A on "The Moral Results of Romanism."

III

SOCIETY—THE CHURCH—THE CREED

"Behold, thou art . . . confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law; thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? . . . Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege? Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonorest thou God."—Romans ii. 17, 19–23.

I TOOK occasion to point out in my last lecture that some of the "results" attributed to the great movement called the Reformation might, with equal justice, have been ascribed to Christianity itself upon its introduction into the world. Sectarianism and Antinomianism, it is asserted, followed hard upon the Reformation. Suppose it be granted, we reply: The same phenomena marked the planting of the Christian religion; as, for instance, in the case of the early Gnostic sects, which even in the apostolic age caricatured and corrupted Christianity, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and calling forth rebukes from St. Paul, St. Jude, and St. John, very much as the Antinomian heresies of the Reformation period excited the indignant protest of the principal Reformers.

Allow me to cite another historic parallel as an introduction to my remarks this evening. It relates to some other of the accusations brought against Protestants and the religion of Protestants by Roman Catholic orators and writers. It may be some consolation to us, in advance of the refutation of these accusations, to be reminded that the same or similar charges were brought against Christianity itself in the first ages of our era. A religion without altars, without images, without sacrifices, without a priesthood, seemed to the Roman mind of the first ages very much as Protestantism seems to the Roman Catholic mind of this age—a godless religion. It was denounced then, as Protestantism is denounced to-day, as destructive of morality, of society, and of faith. "*Away with the atheists!*" was the popular cry against the Christians in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. "*Away with Protestantism! it leads logically to infidelity,*" is the cry of the partisans of Rome to-day. The one was the cry of paganism; the other is the cry of a corrupt form of Christianity which, in its leading features, is an unnatural compromise between pagan and Christian ideas, fitly symbolized by that statue of Jupiter which one sees in Rome to-day doing service as a statue of St. Peter. And the fact that among these foes of Protestantism are many men of character, of intelligence, and of learning, finds a parallel in the well-known and equally remarkable fact that the best of the

Roman emperors, as well as the greatest of their moralists, were, as a rule, hostile to Christianity.

Bearing these parallels in mind, lest we should be overwhelmed by the very grave opprobrium cast upon our religion by such reverend and learned divines, let us take heart to examine some of these accusations.

I. And first let us consider the charge that Protestantism is *destructive of society*. How is this count in the indictment sustained?

1st. By the assertion that some of the Reformers taught the doctrine of the divine right of kings in the extremest sense, encouraging them to believe themselves absolute autocrats; while others, on the contrary, served *their* ends by proclaiming the opposite doctrine of the absolute right of revolution. But how does this assertion consist with the undeniable fact that England, which is the most conspicuous and pronounced of Protestant countries, is also the most conspicuous example, not of absolute despotism, but of a limited monarchy, and that no country of Europe has been so free from internal conflict and revolution for the last two hundred years? According to the logic of this assertion, Catholic France, R. Catholic Spain, and R. Catholic Mexico should be the models of stable government, where kings and emperors have never dreamed of exercising despotic power, and where revolutions and tumults have been unknown. Unhappily for the Roman Catholic disputants, *the logic of facts* conducts us to quite

a different opinion; and the generality of mankind obstinately adhere to *this* rather than the other logic, and persist in thinking investments safer in Protestant London than in R. Catholic Madrid, in Protestant America than in R. Catholic Mexico!

2d. Pass we to the second specification alleged in support of this charge. The Reformation "obliterated the religious element from society"; it "divorced society from God." And how were these dire results brought about? The answer is very significant: "*by destroying the Church as the arbiter of right and wrong to the nations.*" "*When the Church was removed there was no teacher to instruct mankind, no pacificator to stand between nation and nation, or between the governor and the governed.*"[1]

In the light of this language one sees that to divorce society from God means to divorce it from the Roman Catholic Church—*i. e.*, to deprive that Church of the right to be the arbiter of the nations. This Protestantism *has* done, and for this it should receive the gratitude of mankind. For this we make no apology.

Allow me to give a few illustrations of the way in which the Papacy—and the Papacy is the Church—exercised this office of arbiter of nations before the wicked Protestants deprived her of this function. They will serve to show you what Rome's ideal of society is from which the modern world has unhappily departed.

[1] *Results of the Protestant Reformation*, p. 21.

Pope Gregory IX.,[1] resting upon the "Donation of Constantine," which was a forgery,[2] asserted his absolute dominion over the state, declaring that the Pope is properly lord and master of the whole world, while kings and emperors only exercise a delegated power—delegated, that is to say, by the popes. Innocent IV. declared that secular princes derived their commission from the Pope. As late as the sixteenth century, Paul IV. issued a Bull,[3] *ex cathedrâ*, with the assent and signature of his cardinals, affirming (1) that the Pope has full authority and power over nations and kingdoms; (2) that all princes and monarchs falling into heresy or schism are *ipso facto* irrevocably deposed, deprived for ever of all rights of government, and incur sentence of death. If, however, they repent, they are to be "imprisoned in a

[1] He writes to Emperor Fredk. II., Oct., 1236: "It is notorious that Constantine, to whom belonged universal monarchy, wished that the Vicar of Christ . . . should also possess the government of corporeal things in the whole world." (See the passage quoted at length in *Letters to His Holiness Pius X. by a Modernist*, p. 139.)

[2] "Ah! Constantine; to how much ill gave birth,
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
That the first wealthy Pope received of thee!"

"So Dante described, in the bitterness of his heart, what he believed to be the origin of the Pope's temporal sovereignty. And even when the progress of criticism had taught the next great Italian poet to place the Donation of Constantine in the moon amongst the things which have never been, the ecclesiastical historians of Rome still clung to such shreds of truth as the story contained, even at the risk of making the papal power the price of an absolution for the murder of a son, a nephew, and a wife." (Stanley's *Eastern Churches*, Lect. VI., p. 205.)

[3] Viz., that entitled "Cum ex Apostolatus Officio."

monastery, and to do penance on bread and water for the remainder of their life"; (3) that none may give aid to an heretical prince, "not even the mere services of common humanity"; . . . "any monarch who does so forfeits his dominions and property." All this was reaffirmed by Pius V.; and in 1627 another Bull of Urban VIII. promulgated the same doctrine in even stronger terms. It is, therefore, the formally declared and often reiterated doctrine of the Church of Rome, a doctrine promulgated solemnly and *ex cathedrâ* by several of her popes, that civil rulers are the dependents and vassals of the pope, who has full power to depose monarchs, absolve subjects from their allegiance, hand over countries to invasion, and deprive princes and peoples of their property. This is Rome's ideal of society! This is her model of civil order! It is true she does not *now* attempt to exercise this supreme and universal jurisdiction, but this is, as the Jesuit theologians explain, because it is not at present possible to exercise it. The doctrine, however, remains unchanged. They still affirm the power of the Church to inflict civil and corporal punishment, yea, fines, fasts, imprisonment, and scourging.[1]

Her practice, moreover, has been true to her theory. I have already reminded you that Pope

[1] So the Jesuits, Schneeman and Schräder. So *La Civilta*, Jesuit organ at Rome, 1854, vol. vii., p. 603. The late Pope Pius IX., on several occasions, sanctioned the same doctrine. The famous Syllabus of 1864 formulated it. (See *The Pope and the Council*, ch. i.)

Innocent III. declared the Magna Charta null and void, and excommunicated the barons who obtained it. That is one out of many examples. To lay whole nations under interdict, to deprive them of worship and sacraments, was not sufficient. Cities and states were outlawed or given up to plunder and slavery, as, for instance, Venice, by Clement V. Excommunication to the seventh generation, the razing of cities, and the transportation of their inhabitants—these are specimens of the *exercise* of this power by the popes. Martin IV. placed King Pedro of Arragon under interdict, promised indulgences for their sins to all who should fight against him, and finally declared his kingdom forfeited, and made it over, for a yearly tribute, to Charles of Valois. Gregory VII., the first to attempt dethroning kings and absolving subjects of their allegiance, declared in the year 1080 as follows: "We desire to show the world that we can give or take away at our will kingdoms, duchies, earldoms, in a word, the possessions of all men, for we can bind and loose."[1] And Gratian, the famous canonist, urges that, since Pope Urban II. "had declared any one who should kill an excommunicated person out of zeal to the Church to be by no means a murderer," it was thence to be concluded that the "bad" are "not only to be scourged but executed."[2]

[1] Mansi, xx., 536, quoted in *The Pope and the Council*, p. 89. And compare Barrow on *The Pope's Supremacy*, p. 68. New York, 1834.

[2] *Id.*, p. 120.

The dark and terrible history of the Inquisition, with its cruel instruments of torture and death—*the pulley*, "by which persons were hoisted up to the ceiling with a weight attached to the feet, and then suddenly allowed to fall to the ground with a jerk which dislocated the joints"; *the rack*, "by which the frame was distorted and lacerated"; *the chafing dish*, "by which persons were stretched on the back, and a slow fire applied to the soles of the feet"; and if these did not bring the heretic to recant, then the sword, the axe, and the fagot of the civil magistrate were ready to do their work—this, I say, may serve as another illustration of the way in which the Church of Rome has put her theory into practice. And it is the Inquisition which the Papal organ at Rome described in 1855 as "a sublime spectacle of social perfection!" (*La Civilta Cattolica.*)

It is tolerably clear, in the light of these typical facts, in what sense the Church of Rome once stood "between nation and nation, between the governor and the governed," and how she once exercised, and would again exercise, if she could, the office of "*arbiter of right and wrong to the nations.*" Nor is it at all difficult to understand why her wrath should wax hot against Protestantism for emancipating Christendom from this bondage to the papal throne. Interpreted by these historical facts, her reproach becomes the highest encomium. If "social perfection," as Rome understands it, is exemplified in the In-

quisition, then God be praised for the movement which helped to "destroy" that model of "society"! If the presence of "the religious element" in society means—as for Rome it does mean—the dark shadow of the papacy over every monarch's throne and every magistrate's seat, then should the nations of the earth rise up and call the Reformers blessed if, indeed, they "obliterated" it. If to "divorce society from God" signifies, in Roman phrase, the same thing as to divorce it from the ecclesiastic who pretends to be the Vicar of Christ, whom Bellarmine called "the vice-God," and whose pretensions establish in him so strong a resemblance to the "Man of Sin," "the son of perdition" of whom St. Paul prophesied "that he, as God, sitting in the temple of God, would show himself that he is God"[1] (2 Thess. ii., 3, 4), then, I say, if the Reformers severed this unholy alliance they performed a work similar to that which the Prophet Elijah performed when he emancipated the House of Israel from the service of the strange gods which Jezebel had set up; and every Christian as well as every patriot should delight to do them honor for so great and holy a work.

II. I pass to the consideration of another charge, viz., that the Protestant Reformation has been "*destructive of the Christian Church.*" Why,

[1] Christophorus Marcellus thus addressed Julius II. at the Council of the Lateran, A.D. 1512: "Tu enim pastor, tu medicus, tu gubernator, tu cultor, *tu denique alter Deus in terris.*" (See Gieseler, *Eccl.* iii., *Hist.*, p. 267.) (See also *Labbei et Cossartii Concilia*, xiv., p. 109.)

or in what way? Because the Reformers took the stand "that the Church had erred in faith."[1]

Our Roman controversialist exults in the "contradictions in terms that are to be found in the assertion of the error of the Church of Christ," and proceeds to settle the matter by a redoubtable piece of ratiocination, which I will quote: "What can be more plain than this? That is not the Church of Christ which teaches error. But if the Church of Christ can teach error, then, according to the assumption, it is the Church of Christ and it is not the Church of Christ at one and the same moment."

We answer, there is at least *one* thing "more plain" than this precious piece of logic, viz.: that it is built, as so much Jesuit logic is built, and as the Church of Rome herself is built, upon *an assumption.* The "pillar and ground" of this argument is the major premise; it is a fine pillar, no doubt, but, unfortunately, it rests on the sand. It is an assumption, pure and simple, to say that the Church of Christ cannot teach error.[2] How do we know it? Not from the Scriptures certainly, for they teach emphatically that churches both can err and have erred. The Jewish Church, by its hierarchy, frequently erred, notably in our Lord's day, when the Scribes and Pharisees, though they sat in Moses' seat, taught for doctrines the commandments of men. The Seven Churches of

[1] *Results of the Protestant Reformation*, p. 28.

[2] See NOTE B.

Asia Minor erred, as we read at large in the second and third chapters of Revelation. And in the Epistle to the Romans it is explicitly taught that the Church of Rome might err:

"If God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: *otherwise, thou also shalt be cut off*" (Rom. xi. 21, 22).

But we are referred to the words of Christ: "The gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."[1] But how is it made out that this promise, or prophecy implies that the Church of Christ cannot err? Why should it imply infallibility, and not impeccability? In a word, why pervert an assurance of final victory for the Church over the powers of darkness into a promise that it should never err? *Assuming* this equivalence of two propositions quite distinct from each other—(viz.: "that the Church of Christ shall be victorious in its contest with Satan's kingdom"; and "that the Church of Christ shall never err in any matter of faith")—our disputant draws the conclusion that to assert

[1] I observe a very serious error in quotation on page 29 of *The Results of the Protestant Reformation*. Christ is represented to have said of His Church: "*I will guide* IT *into all truth*"; —but what He did say was: "*He* (the Holy Ghost) shall guide *you* into all truth"—a promise addressed to *all* the Apostles, and, therefore, lending no support to the dogma that St. Peter had authority and prerogatives beyond the rest of the Apostolic College.

that the Church has erred is to assert that Christ broke His word, and hence is not worthy of confidence, at the same time that men are called upon by Protestants to believe that He *is* worthy of confidence, and to accept a new Christianity at His hands.[1]

And he marvels "how a logical mind can fail to see the utter inconsistency of such theories as these." Perhaps "a logical mind" would suggest to the controversialist that no conclusion can be any stronger than its premises, and that his conclusion being based on an assumption, must of necessity, so far as the argument goes, be itself an assumption. Perhaps, also, the same "logical mind" would state the argument a little differently: "You say the Church of Christ cannot err. But the Church of Rome has certainly erred, since she has taught contradictions, as when one pope decided that the marriage tie is dissolved if either party shall become heretical, and another annulled this decision.

"Therefore, according to the assumption, the Church of Rome cannot be the Church of Christ."

The "logical mind" may go on to suggest, also, several "utter inconsistencies" which no sound reasoner can "fail to see": "You say to teach the error of the Church is to destroy the Church, and so to break down "the pillar and ground of truth," for "a fallible teacher is no teacher at all" (p. 31).

[1] *Results of the Protestant Reformation*, p. 30.

"But your Church, which you say is infallible, has, as I have just reminded you, by the mouth of her Popes taught the world contradictory doctrines. For instance: Innocent I. and Gelasius I. taught that it was indispensable for infants to receive communion; but Pius IV. imposed a creed which binds the decrees of the Council of Trent on the Church; and one of these anathematizes the doctrine of the two Popes just referred to! If the last pope was not a fallible teacher, then the other Popes were. But, if they were not, he was. Evidently your Church, therefore is a fallible teacher in either case, and yet you claim for her infallibility!"

"*A fallible teacher is no teacher at all!*" Then what sort of a teacher was the Church of Rome when, by her mouthpiece, Sixtus V., she sent forth an edition of the Bible which was ordered to be used as the only true and genuine one, under pain of excommunication forbidding the change even of a single word, since he had corrected it with his own hand; and yet this very Bible of Sixtus was so full of blunders (two thousand of which had been introduced by the Pope's own hand), that the new Pope found it necessary to call in all the copies of it that could be found, and issue a new and corrected edition! One of these Popes was certainly "fallible." But "a fallible teacher is no teacher at all." Yet, "according to the assumption," the Popes are *all* infallible heads of an infallible Church! Here, surely, is an inconsistency no

"logical mind" can "fail to see." And, since "a fallible teacher is no teacher at all," they who exhibit their fallibility by so glaring an inconsistency cannot complain if we decline to accept them as teachers.

III. The third and last charge against Protestantism which I shall notice this evening is that it is "*destructive of the Christian creed and of faith.*" In the first place, the Roman Catholic disputant proves this by an *a priori* argument. Private judgment destroys the possibility of a creed. If every man is to judge for himself, then of necessity there must be "as many creeds as individuals." And yet, while he asserts this, he himself is appealing to private judgment. All his arguments against Protestantism are addressed to private judgment. If, then, we may judge of these questions, why not of others? Why not of the whole circle of Christian doctrine? "So that," as Chillingworth well says, "for aught I can see, judges we are, and must be of all sides, every one for himself, and God for us all."[1]

Again, it is argued against us that, on our principles, there is no possibility of exercising faith, "for faith is the belief in that which God delivers to man," and Protestants cannot tell whether God has made any revelation or no, because they have no external infallible authority. But we answer, yes—we have such an authority in the Holy Scriptures. To this the Romanist rejoins that we

[1] *Works*, p. 152. London, 1836.

believe the Scriptures on the authority of his Church, or on no authority at all. But what shameless assumption is this, when the fact is plain and incontrovertible that the Scriptures were committed to and possessed by all Christian churches alike. The great churches of the East, the Chaldæan, the Armenian, the Syrian, the Coptic, the Greek—all witness to the Scriptures independently of the Church of Rome. And the Church in Great Britain possessed and used, and was comforted by, the sacred volume centuries before Rome had either influence or authority in those islands. No! we do not receive the Scriptures on the authority of the Church of Rome, but *upon the concurrent testimony to their apostolic origin and authority given by all Christian antiquity.* The argument for their infallibility as a rule of faith cannot now be given; but we may fairly say to the Romanist: "If we have no power to prove the Holy Scriptures to be the Word of God, then neither have you any power to prove your Church to be the Church of God. But if you may fairly appeal to reason—that is, to private judgment—and to history to prove the infallibility of your Church, then may we with equal right appeal to the same tribunals to establish the infallibility of the Bible in matters of faith. For we refuse to admit the validity of your 'vicious circle' argument, whereby you first prove the authority of the Bible by the Church, and then turn round and prove the authority of the Church by the Bible.

This is something which cannot be done '*in logic*,' any more than the proving the Scriptures by themselves."[1]

But what Church is this which, by the mouth of its accredited apologists, accuses the Protestant Churches of destroying the creed of Christendom?

I answer that she has, from age to age and generation to generation, corrupted the Christian creed; that she has added article after article to the faith; that, as she represents it, it is different to-day from what it was ten years[2] ago; was different then from what it was before Pius IX. became Pope; and that no man can tell how many more articles will yet be added!

Ten years[2] ago it was not an article of faith

[1] A clergyman of the Church of England, who had entered the Church of Rome, writes, after some years spent within her fold, as follows: "But what means has he for applying those tests except the ordinary reasoning faculty of all mankind, which, by the nature of the case, is not infallible? The whole process becomes a mere reasoning in a circle. If I possess a certain supernatural gift, I can attain an absolute certainty of the truths of Catholicism beyond the mere logical probability which rests upon historical evidence. But when I come to ask myself whether that gift has been granted to me, I am forced back upon the rules of logical probability, and thus am landed again at the precise point where I stood before. A person who, thus arguing, can persuade himself that, without possibility of doubt, he individually possesses this divine faith, is the victim of an intellectual sleight of hand. He takes, as it were, a difficulty out of one pocket and puts it into another, and then imagines he has got rid of it altogether. The difficulty remains exactly what it was at the beginning." (*Reasons for Returning to the Church of England*, London, 1871, pp. 89, 90.)

[2] This reckoning was made in 1879.

(*de fide*) that the Pope is infallible. To-day it is. Twenty-five years ago it was not an article of faith that the Virgin was born without sin. To-day it is.

Let me give one example of wholesale additions to the creed. In the year 1564 no less than *twelve* new articles were added by Pius IV. in the creed which he then imposed upon the Church. Among these were the doctrine of tradition, the seven sacraments, the mass, purgatory, invocation and veneration of saints, image veneration (which, for the ignorant, means image *worship*), and indulgences.

Now, by thus adding to the faith the Church of Rome stands self-condemned. For this act was in contravention of a solemn decree of one of the general councils which Rome acknowledges as of binding authority. The Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) ordained that

"*it should be lawful for no one to profess, to write, or to compose any other* [*form of*] *faith than that defined by the holy fathers, who, with the Holy Ghost, had been assembled at Nice* [*i. e.*, the creed called the Nicene Creed]. But those who shall have dared to compose or profess, or to offer *any other* [form of] faith to those wishing to be converted to the acknowledgment of the truth, whether from paganism, or Judaism, or *from any sort of heresy;* it decreed that if they were bishops or clergymen, the bishops should be deposed from their episcopacy and the clergy from their clerical office."

According to their own principles, therefore, solemnly affirmed in their own creed, the bishops and clergy of the Church of Rome have incurred the penalty of *deposition* from their sacred office for the sin of adding to the faith! Yet they fill the air with outcries against Protestantism for having proved destructive to the faith![1]

With quite as ill grace comes the allegation of dissensions among Protestants from the adherents of a church which has herself presented the most disgraceful scenes of ecclesiastical animosities, contentions, and factions. Pope has stood arrayed against pope, council against council, pope and council against Pope and council, the church of one age against the church of another age.[2] Previous to 1870 no man could tell where the

[1] Dr. Preston has printed a lecture on the English Reformation, in which he repeats the usual charge that the Creed of the Church of England is "the *Crown's* Creed," and not the Church's Creed. But, as was well pointed out a few years ago by Rev. Edmund S. Ffoulkes, then still a pervert to the Roman Church, this charge holds equally good against the Church of Rome. "Reccared, Charlemagne, and Henry II. prescribed a Creed for the West, at least as much as Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth prescribed one for England." "How, after this, the Creed used by us both in our Liturgy [he is writing to Archbishop Manning] can be called the Church's Creed, and not the Crown's Creed, I am at a loss to comprehend; how Rome can, after this, be exculpated from the charge of having succumbed to '*the Crown in Council*,' infinitely more than England, I should be pleased in all honesty to learn."—(A letter to the Most Rev. Archbishop Manning, etc., by Edmund S. Ffoulkes, B.D., pp. 15, 16. New York, 1869.)

[2] See this discussed by Chillingworth. *Works*, p. 178. London, 1836.

vaunted gift of infallibility resided. "It resides in the Pope," said some of their divines. "No, not in the Pope," said others, "but in the Church at large (a diffusive power or virtue)." "By no means," exclaimed a third party; "it belongs only to general councils without the Pope." "You are all wrong," said a fourth school; "infallibility is only in a general council, headed by the Pope."

Now, indeed, the controversy has been settled by the triumph of the Jesuits, and it must be confessed by every good Catholic that the Pope is personally infallible when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*. At last, then, is there peace and unanimity, after so many centuries of conflict, upon the very first question of their whole system? Alas, no! for it is now debated very earnestly what those mysterious words *ex cathedrâ* really imply.

In the words of our assailant, we may say, "God is not the author of this confusion." These "variations of Romanism" prove it cannot be from Him!

I have yet to notice the assertion[1] "that the Protestant Reformation contains the germs of infidelity; that it leads to infidelity just as surely as premises lead to their conclusions;" and that "logical minds who take up the principles of the Reformation will of necessity become infidels." There is not time now to discuss this question. Which, however, it may be asked, is the more

[1] Dr. Preston does not pretend to prove it. See his pamphlet, p. 42.

likely to lead to infidelity, the system which teaches men that God has revealed Himself in nature and in the soul of man, as well as in Scripture, and then teaches them to seek the harmony of this triple revelation under the teaching of the Spirit of all truth—this, I say, or the system which bids them renounce the use of the faculties God has given them, and accept, without question, what the Church—*i. e.*, *practically*, what the priest—tells them to believe, on the ground that the Church is an infallible interpreter of revelation and judge of matters of faith?[1]

So long as men are content, or able, to shut their eyes and abandon their function as reasoning, reflecting beings, on all subjects connected with religion, all may go well—they may adhere to their faith; but when they begin to read, and to reason about the matter, they will be likely to discover that this claim of infallibility is reduced to an absurdity by the inflexible logic of historical facts, and that many of the distinctive doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome are subversive of reason and an insult to common sense.[2] And *then*, what danger will there be of a *reaction*, even to the point of abandoning all religion, since this which they took for the only true representative of Christianity has proved a delusion![3] This

[1] See Note B. [2] See Note C.

[3] See this ably discussed by Archbishop Whately in his "Dissertation on the Rise, Progress, and Corruptions of Christianity"; *Cyclopædia Brit.*, vol. i., p. 500, 8th edition.

was the history of Voltaire's unbelief. Educated by the Jesuits, he identified Christianity with Romanism, and, when he saw the folly and the falsehood of that, rejected the Christian religion *in toto*. This was the history of Blanco White's skepticism. He began life a devout priest in the Roman Church, but, awaking to the discovery of the moral corruption and the intellectual absurdity of the system, he made utter shipwreck of faith. This is the history of much of the very widespread unbelief which exists on the continent of Europe to-day.[1] And even where the semblance of faith is preserved, the *soul* of it is often gone. Witness the testimony of an English clergyman who had embraced Romanism, and who says of his observations in the rural districts of Spain:

"On Sundays, at High Mass, the church . . was crammed full of men and women . . . I took some pains to examine, but I never could discover anybody —man, woman, or child—in the whole congregation who used a book besides myself; and whatever may have been their inmost feelings, which I do not pretend to decipher, *the countenances of the men bespoke nothing but listless apathy*. . . . Yet this was a country that had remained exclusively Roman Catholic since its release from the Moors.[2]"

The examples just given may serve to show how far and in what sense it is true, as the partisans of

[1] See NOTE D.

[2] *The Church's Creed, or, The Crown's Creed;* a letter, etc., by Edmund S. Ffoulkes, B.D., p. 67. New York, 1869.

Rome assert that men "must choose between infidelity and the [Roman] Catholic Church." To minds educated to identify Christianity with the caricature which Rome has substituted for it, there appears indeed, when that is rejected, no alternative but to throw themselves into the arms of infidelity. In the revulsion and rebound from that corrupt and unreasonable system, they are carried entirely beyond the pale of the Christian faith. This is one of the most heinous faults of the Romish Church, that it shuts men up to this very alternative: not indeed by logic, but by that principle of the human mind which leads it, when it finds itself deceived and duped, to reject with indignation and disgust not only the errors and corruptions of the system in which it had rested, but also the truth which underlies them, or of which they are the perversions.

In the Doré gallery, in London, there is, or was when I visited it a few years ago, a picture which well illustrates this tendency of Romanism to infidelity. It represents a young monk, "but too soon awakened to the truth that the cloister is not the house of pious meditation and holy life he had pictured in the enthusiasm which has led him to take the vows." He is seen sitting in the chapel at prayer time surrounded by his brethren of the cloister, with whose doting, sensual, credulous, or hypocritical faces his own noble countenance stands out in striking contrast. At last the illusion of his new life is dispelled. With a

start he awakes to the reality of his position—so utterly different from his anticipations—and on every feature there is written in unmistakable characters, disappointment, disgust, dismay.

Just such rude awakenings as that which this young neophyte experienced in the cloister, occur in numberless instances in the Church of Rome. It is not to be denied that there is much that is attractive in the Roman system as her advocates paint it, chiefly perhaps as offering a living, authoritative, infallible teacher, who shall answer all doubts, quiet all controversy, and give absolute certainty in all matters of faith, and absolute assurance of salvation. But when this claim is tested by reason, by history, by Scripture, and its absurdity revealed, then there comes the revulsion, which Doré has so powerfully depicted on the face of the neophyte of the cloister, and then, as in his case, there follows a disappointment, a disgust, a dismay, which drives men into skepticism and infidelity.

In conclusion, it only remains to say that every charge which Roman Catholic writers commonly bring against Protestantism may be retorted with terrible effect upon Romanism. Grave indeed are the imperfections of our Protestant Churches; much have they yet to learn; much also, it may be, to unlearn; much of failure and of unfaithfulness to confess in dust and ashes before God; but certainly they have nothing to fear by just comparison with a Church which has altered and set

aside THE RULE OF FAITH, perverted and corrupted THE WAY OF LIFE, undermined the foundations of MORALITY, attempted to bind THE NATIONS to the Papal throne, made unauthorized additions to the CHRISTIAN CREED, and so caricatured Christianity, by its unscriptural and unreasonable claims, as to drive men in disgust into the arms of INFIDELITY.

NOTES.

NOTE A.—ON THE MORAL RESULTS OF ROMANISM.

The official statistics of crime in Roman Catholic countries furnish a very simple and practical method of testing the truth of the assertion that Protestantism has been destructive of morality.

Let us compare Protestant England with the several Roman Catholic countries of Europe, as to the crime of MURDER:

In Roman Catholic Ireland	there	are	19	murders	to	every	million	of	inhabitants.
" " " Belgium,	"	"	18	"	"	"	"	"	
" " " France,	"	"	31	"	"	"	"	"	
" " " Austria,	"	"	36	"	"	"	"	"	
" " " Bavaria,	"	"	68	"	"	"	"	"	
" " " Sardinia,	"	"	20	"	"	"	"	"	
" " " Lombardy,	"	"	45	"	"	"	"	"	
" " " Tuscany,	"	"	56	"	"	"	"	"	
" The Papal States,		"	"	113	"	"	"	"	"
" Roman Catholic Sicily,		"	"	90	"	"	"	"	"
" " " Naples,		"	"	174	"	"	"	"	"
" PROTESTANT ENGLAND,		"	"	4	"	"	"	"	"

These statistics, with dates and explanations, may be seen at length in Seymour's *Evenings with the Romanists* (pp. 13–30).

Let us take another field of inquiry and comparison, that, namely, which relates to vice and immorality. The proportion of illegitimate births is as follows:

In Roman Catholic Paris,	THIRTY-THREE	per cent.
" " " Brussels,	THIRTY-FIVE	" "
" " " Munich,	FORTY-EIGHT	" "
" " " Vienna,	FIFTY-ONE	" "
" Protestant London,	FOUR	" "

Ibid., p. 38.

Again:

PROTESTANT ENGLAND.			ROMAN CATHOLIC AUSTRIA.		
Bristol and Clifton,	about 4	per cent.	Troppan,	about 26	per cent.
Bradford,	" 8	" "	Zara,	" 30	" "
Birmingham,	" 6	" "	Innspruck,	" 22	" "
Brighton,	" 7	" "	Laibach,	" 38	" "
Cheltenham,	" 7	" "	Brunn,	" 42	" "
Exeter,	" 8	" "	Lintz,	" 46	" "
Liverpool,	" 6	" "	Prague,	" 47	" "
Manchester & Salford	" 7	" "	Lemberg,	" 47	" "
Plymouth,	" 5	" "	Klagenfurt,	" 56	" "
Portsea,	" 5	" "	Gratz,	" 65	" "
	63			419	

Ibid., p. 39.

Again:

PROTESTANT ENGLAND.		ROMAN CATHOLIC ITALY.	
Liverpool,	6 per cent.	Turin,	20 per cent.
Bristol and Clifton,	4 " "	Milan,	35 " "
Plymouth,	5 " "	Venice,	17 " "
Brighton,	7 " "	Florence,	20 " "
Manchester,	7 " "	Naples,	16 " "
	29		108

Ibid., p. 41.

Again:

IN ROMAN CATHOLIC AUSTRIA.		IN PROTESTANT PRUSSIA.	
Vienna,	51 per cent.	Berlin,	18 per cent.
Prague,	47 " "	Breslau,	26 " "
Lintz,	46 " "	Cologne,	10 " "
Milan,	32 " "	Königsberg,	28 " "
Klagenfurt,	56 " "	Dantzig,	20 " "
Gratz,	65 " "	Magdeburg,	11 " "
Lembach,	47 " "	Aix-la-Chapelle	4 " "
Laibach,	38 " "	Stettin,	13 " "
Zara,	30 " "	Posen,	16 " "
Brunn,	42 " "	Potsdam,	12 " "
	454		158

Ibid., p. 46.

The result in Roman Catholic Austria is 45 per cent.
And in Protestant Prussia, 16 " "

Ibid., p. 47.

In the light of the above statistics, which are submitted without comment, the charge made by Roman Catholic polemics that Protestant principles are destructive of morality, must be characterized as an instance either of the most unblushing effrontery or of the grossest ignorance. To these statistics of a generation ago, let me add some of recent date:

. . . . . .

"Meyer gives the percentage of illegitimate births in Austria as 426 per 1000. The Vienna *Year Book* for 1905 gives 16,867 illegitimate to 38,849 legitimate births."—*Decay of the Church of Rome*, p. 238.

"The morality of Italy has signally improved during these decades of defection from Romanism, and is highest in the non-Catholic provinces. . . . The proportion of illegitimate births has fallen from 7.35 per cent. in 1881 to 6.02 per cent. in 1904. The Roman province is one of the worst in this regard, having a percentage of 20.3; the northern provinces are the best. There is still an extraordinary laxity amongst the Catholic population, from the prelate to the peasant. . . . A writer not hostile to Catholicism in *The Church Quarterly* (October, 1902) tells that he heard an Italian prelate lamenting that a certain distinguished Cardinal had not received the tiara at the last conclave. When the writer protested to the Italian that the Cardinal was a man of "conspicuous immorality," the prelate impatiently exclaimed: "You Anglicans seem to think there is no virtue but chastity."—*Id.*, p. 65.

Recent Statistics in Germany.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Christian World*, London, reports the result of recent exhaustive in-

vestigations of the statistical department of the Prussian Government dealing with the criminality of the population of the kingdom.

"That result seriously calls in question the claim of the Roman Catholic Church to be the most free of crime among its adherents, and gives this position without hesitation to the various denominations of Protestants."

Thus "out of every 100,000 of population, 1094 persons belonging to the Protestant Church were convicted of various crimes and offenses, against 1443 Catholics. This is the average number spread over the entire kingdom."

Again, "In Silesia the proportion of Protestant criminals is 998, of Catholics, 1841; Posen, 972 Protestants against 1531 Catholics. In Schleswig-Holstein we have the almost incredible figures of 1025 Protestants against 2838 Catholics." (*Protestant Alliance Magazine*, London, March, 1914, pp. 46, 47).

Meyer gives the percentage of illegitimate births in Austria as 426 per 1000. The Vienna *Year Book* for 1905 gives 16,867 illegitimate to 38,849 legitimate births.—See *The Decay of the Church of Rome*, by Joseph McCabe, p. 238.

A similar condition exists in Hungary and Portugal.

NOTE B.—ON THE RENUNCIATION OF REASON WHICH ROMANISM DEMANDS.

The writer just quoted, who was for years a member of the Church of Rome, makes the following confession:

"However, the fact that this view of infallibility is the recognized Catholic doctrine being at last evident

to me, it was clearly my duty to see what could be said in its defense by competent thinkers. I need hardly say that from no quarter could I obtain any satisfactory explanation of the difficulty. It would be a violation of delicacy, were I to mention the names of those with whom I, from time to time, discussed the subject, especially as in almost every case it ended in a confession that my friends could not see their way out of the maze; and I have been actually asked by at least one person, whose name would cause no little surprise, whether I could not myself supply some intelligible explanation of this apparent violation of all the laws of reasoning. In the course of this and similar investigations I saw, too, more and more distinctly, how powerfully the ordinary Catholic mind is under the influence of a certain terror which prevents it from pursuing any such inquiry as that which I suggested, with an unflinching determination to seek the truth and nothing but the truth. Almost all alike from the ablest to the dullest, I found to be paralyzed with the fear of what they considered would be a trifling with the supernatural gift of 'faith.' The belief in the reality of this gift of faith, in its logical efficiency, as superseding the ordinary laws of reasoning in matters of religion, and the deadly peril of questioning its validity, confronted me on every side. Except in cases of unusual candor and courage, I found that the mere suggestion that there might possibly be some flaw in this whole theory about the efficacy and sacredness of faith aroused the keenest suspicions. Everybody began either to be alarmed for me, as if I were voluntarily casting myself down to perdition; or for himself, feeling that he was trembling on the verge of a discovery which might shatter his whole

belief in the Roman system of doctrine. *I felt myself involved in the meshes of a system of intellectual slavery. All around were the loudest assertions that Catholicism will bear the strictest investigation, and that its doctrines are in perfect harmony with the conclusions of enlightened reason, because they come from God Himself. But in practice, I perceived that all inquiry into the logical grounds of belief was in reality forbidden*, and that you might do everything in the way of beautifying, or even repairing and enlarging the edifice of the Church, but that any examination into the stability of its foundations was held to be equivalent to a conviction that those foundations were, or might be, rotten."—*Reasons for Returning to the Church of England*, pp. 64–66.

NOTE C.—ON TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

"Many of the distinctive doctrines of the Church of Rome are subversive of reason and an insult to common sense" (p. 225).

The dogma of transubstantiation is an instance in point. That it is contrary to reason and common sense, and that it tends directly to skepticism, is well shown by the writer already twice quoted. After spending years within the bosom of the Roman Church, vainly seeking rest, he wrote as follows:

"A revelation from God may teach many things which could not otherwise be known, and many things which until thoroughly understood seem to present very various moral or critical difficulties. But it cannot call on man to believe any dogmas which are contrary to one another, or which cut up the whole structure of human belief by the roots. If any pro-

fessing revelation does this, it follows that it is no revelation at all. Supposing, therefore, that the theory of Roman infallibility leads to the assertion of any doctrine which violates the laws upon which the recognition of Christianity itself depends, it necessarily follows that so far from Rome being infallible, she is a standing proof of her own fallibility.

"This proof, I saw, was to be found in the doctrine of transubstantiation. I perceived, without then knowing that the same difficulty had long ago been urged by Tillotson, that in adopting a theory as to the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, which invalidates the testimony of the senses, we really destroy all human knowledge whatsoever. The doctrine of transubstantiation, I need hardly remind the general reader, alleges that the consecrated wafer really *is* the body of Christ, although all the appearances of the original bread remain unchanged. These outward appearances are termed the 'accidents,' while the 'substance,' it is alleged, is transubstantiated into that which is, in its essence, the body and blood of Christ. There is nothing, therefore, in this, it is argued by Roman theologians, that contradicts the senses, because the teaching of the Roman Church is to the effect that only the substance of the bread undergoes any alterations.

"They here, however, overlook the circumstance that *in asserting that the evidence of the senses as to externally existing objects is not to be depended upon, they introduce a universal unbelief*, because it is only through the evidence of the senses that we know anything at all of what passes without the limits of our own minds. *If the senses are not to be depended on, how can we know that such a person as Jesus Christ ever*

existed? How can we be certain that the book before our eyes is not substantially different from what it appears to be? If the apostles were bound to believe that the bread before their eyes, at the last supper, was not bread, but the body of the Lord, who was sitting by their side, how could they be justified in believing their ears, which told them that He was speaking to them? What was the logical value of the feeling of the body of Christ by Thomas, as a proof that Christ was alive before him, if the sense of touch is not to be relied on? If the consecrated bread is not bread, but flesh and blood, why might not the body which Thomas handled be a vision or a marble statue? We cannot possibly employ the evidence of the senses for the purpose of invalidating the evidence of the senses. It is impossible that Christ can have intended His followers to believe that what appears to the touch and the taste to be bread was anything but bread; for any such command would have been equivalent to an assertion that the whole edifice of man's intellectual life is a baseless dream. Rome, therefore, which does teach this suicidal doctrine, cannot by any possibility be an infallible guide.

"Farther still, the dogma of transubstantiation implies the truth of a philosophy which, for myself, I believe to be radically unsound and inconsistent with the elementary facts of human nature. It is an undeniable truth that the whole of our knowledge of the visible world around us is derived from the impression of our senses. We know, in philosophical language, phenomena, and nothing else. We are conscious of certain sensations produced upon us through our eyes, ears, and general bodily organs. We feel hardness, softness, sweetness, loudness, color, form, and the

like; and this is absolutely our only means of acquiring any perception of the physiological nature of the universe in which we are placed. We know, in a word what we are ourselves; together with all the variety of the abstract truths to which the mind attains by its own inward processes.

"These phenomena, then, are what, in the language of Catholic theologians, are called 'accidents,' and which they, following the speculations of the schoolmen, imagine to be attached to some actually existing reality, which they term the 'substance.' This substance, they fancy, can exist, in the nature of things, wholly apart from these accidental qualities of hardness, or softness, or sweetness, or loudness, or what not. Nevertheless, in thus asserting, not only the abstract possibility of the existence of such an entity, but the reality of that existence, as they do in the dogma of transubstantiation, they are assuming certain capacities in the human mind which are in the highest degree unreal and extravagant. We possess absolutely no knowledge whatever of any material object, beyond the phenomena which it presents to our senses. We do not even know what matter is, or how far it has any objective existence at all, apart from the sensations of which we are in ourselves conscious. When, then, the Roman Church calls upon us to believe that in bread there does actually exist a certain something which is separable from the phenomena that bread presents to the senses, it is making a demand which reason wholly repudiates. It might as justifiably ask me to profess a knowledge of the exact number of the stars, or to state what is passing at this moment in the minds of the inhabitants of the antipodes. I cannot believe that bread is

transformed into flesh and blood, without previously believing that I possess a certain philosophical faculty, which I am absolutely confident that I do not possess. If I am to assert that I believe in the existence of 'substance' apart from its 'accidents,' I must deny my whole intellectual nature, and profess myself nothing less than imbecile.

"Doubtless, in former days, when metaphysics and ontology were little better than a cloud of words, and men played with counters, and imagined them to be golden coins, this notion of transubstantiation was not the transparent fiction which we now see it to be, since we have learned to build the science of mind on the observed facts of the mind. Transubstantiation, like various other interpretations of the original teachings of Jesus Christ, was practically created by the various philosophies which from time to time have been substituted for the philosophy of scientific fact. But when Rome thus pledges herself to the maintenance of the theories of extinct metaphysics, she might as rationally pledge herself to the belief in a race of men who carry their heads beneath their shoulders. And, in so doing, she forces upon the unprejudiced observer the conclusion that her claim to infallibility is a figment of the imagination."—*Reasons for Returning to the Church of England*, pp. 95–103.

NOTE D. p. 225.—ON THE TENDENCY OF ROMANISM TO INFIDELITY.

This is well pointed out by Prof. Geo. P. Fisher, D.D., of Yale, in the following passage:

"Roman Catholic polemics maintain that Protestantism is responsible for the skepticism and unbelief

that prevail so extensively among Christian nations. They assert that there has arisen in the wake of Protestantism a spirit of irreligion which threatens to subvert the social fabric. The causes of this evil, however, do not lie at the door of Protestantism. The free inquiry that had developed in Europe in connection with the revival of learning could not be smothered by mere authority. The earnest religious feeling which the Reformation at the outset brought with it counteracted the tendencies to unbelief for a time, at least; and it was only when Protestantism departed from its own principles, and acted upon the maxims of its adversary, at the same time losing the warmth of religious life so conspicuous at the beginning, that infidelity had a free course. The ideas which Plutarch long ago embodied in his *Treatise on Superstition and Unbelief* are well founded. They are two extremes, each of which begets the other. Not only may the artificial faith which leads to superstitious practices, and drives its devotees to fanaticism, at length spend its force and move the same devotees to cast off the restraints of religion, but the spectacle of superstition, also, repels more sober and courageous minds from all faith and worship. Such has been the notorious effect of the superstitious ceremonies and austerities of the Roman Catholic system, both in the age of the Renaissance and in our own day. Religion comes to be identified, in the opinions of men, with tenets and observances which are repugnant to reason and common sense; and hence truth and error are thrown overboard at once.

"Disgusted with the follies which pass under the name of religion and attract the reverence of the ignorant, men make shipwreck of faith altogether.

The same baleful influence ensues upon the attempt to stretch the principle of authority beyond the due limit. It is like the effect of excessive restraint in the family. A revolt is the consequence wherever there is a failure to repress mental activity and to enslave the will. The subjugation of the intelligence which the Roman Catholic system carries with it as an essential ingredient compels a mutiny which is very likely not to stop with the rejection of usurped authority. . . . Looking at the matter historically, we find that, in the age prior to the Reformation, unbelief was most rife in Italy, the ancient center of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. In recent times, skepticism is nowhere more prevalent than among the higher, cultivated classes in Roman Catholic countries, where the doctrines of that religion have been perpetually taught, and where its ritual has been celebrated with most pomp."—*Proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance*, pp. 465–6. New York, 1873.

Religious Liberty and the Maryland Toleration Act

Religious Liberty and the Maryland Toleration Act

IN the month of September 1908, his Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Westminster, London, delivered a sermon in which he put forth the claim, so often previously made, that civil and religious liberty was first established on American soil in the Roman Catholic Colony of Maryland. I give here an Open Letter, which I addressed to the Cardinal at the time:

To His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons:

"In your recent sermon in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Westminster, London, you are reported as saying, concerning the colony sent by Lord Baltimore to Maryland in 1634:

'This colony of British Catholics was the first to establish on American soil the blessings of civil and religious liberty. While the Puritans of New England persecuted other Christians, and while the Episcopalians of Virginia persecuted Puritans, Catholic Maryland gave freedom and hospitality to Puritans and Episcopalians alike.'

In view of this statement, uttered on such a conspicuous occasion, will your Eminence allow one of your fellow countrymen, a Marylander and the son of a Marylander, solicitous for the truth of Maryland history, to ask you publicly one or two questions, the answers to which may, perhaps, contribute to set in its true perspective that chapter of Maryland history to which you make allusion.

1. Is it not a fact that Lord Baltimore's colony, which you call a colony of "British Catholics," was composed in very large part of Protestants? Were not Protestants, indeed a considerable majority among the colonists that sailed from Cowes in the *Ark* and the *Dove?*

Your Eminence will recall that the colony consisted, as Lord Baltimore wrote to Wentworth, of about "twenty gentlemen of very good fashion and three hundred laboring men"—Father Whyte, who was one of the colonists, puts the number at two hundred. It may also be remembered that two of the councilors of the colony were adherents of the Church of England and that "great numbers of the colonists, apparently the great majority, took the oath of British allegiance before sailing" —that oath which Pope Urban VIII. had charged the Irish "rather to lose their lives than to take." It may further be mentioned, as showing that the colony was probably composed more largely of Protestants than of Roman Catholics, that of the twelve persons who died on the voyage to America,

ten were Protestants. How then can your Eminence justly call Lord Baltimore's colony a colony of "British Catholics?" I beg to refer to the work of Dr. Ethan Allen, *Who Were the Early Settlers of Maryland?* published in 1865, and to that of Rev. B. F. Brown, published in 1870 and entitled, *Early Religious History of Maryland; Maryland not a Roman Catholic Colony*, and to Streeter's *Maryland Two Hundred Years Ago*, and to John Fiske's *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, i., 272–3.

2. Considering this fact, was not a policy of religious toleration a political necessity for the colony? Could Lord Baltimore deny toleration to his own colonists? Indeed, when we study the Maryland Edict of Toleration in the dry light of history, must we not acknowledge the justice of the comment of Mr. Gladstone, that it was primarily a measure of prudence and self-defense? Clearly it was a measure well calculated to attract the settlers so necessary to the existence of the colony, but was it not, more than that, necessary to the protection of the colony—to its very existence indeed, under the circumstances which obtained in 1649? I venture to remind your Eminence that Charles I. had been executed three months before and that Cromwell was now supreme on both sides of the sea; and I ask your Eminence to tell us what would have been the probable fate of the "Catholic Colony" of Maryland at the hands of the terrible Cromwell had the Protestant religion not been tolerated there.

3. There is a very interesting fact in connection with the Edict of Toleration which your Eminence does not seem to have adverted to in your sermon. I mean the fact that this famous edict was passed by a Legislature, two-thirds of whose members appear to have been Protestants. It contained (as probably your Eminence has forgotten) sixteen Protestants and eight Roman Catholics. The Governor himself at the time was a Protestant.

To be exact, the Protestants were as follows:

The Governor, 1; the Councilors, 6; the Burgesses, 9—16.

And the Roman Catholics:

The Councilors, 3; the Burgesses, 5—8.

This is the conclusion of a careful writer after a thorough search of the original records in the Statehouse at Annapolis.[1]

Under these circumstances may I ask your Eminence to say whether Protestants may not lay claim to at least an equal part of the honor and credit of this great Edict of Toleration?

4. Another interesting fact I find no mention of in the report of your Eminence's sermon—(perhaps time did not permit you to state it)—I mean the fact that the Charter granted Lord Baltimore by the English King, the titular head of the English Church, required that the religion of the English Church should be recognized. And I would like your Eminence to tell the English and

[1] Neill, *Maryland, not a Roman Catholic Colony*, p. 7. Minneapolis, 1875.

American people what would, in your opinion, have been the probable consequence of a refusal by Lord Baltimore during the life of Charles I., to tolerate the Protestant religion, as the religion of the Church of England was then called? Would not the Charter granted by the King for the establishment of the colony have been instantly forfeited?

5. Again I would beg leave to ask of your Eminence this question: Suppose the colony of Maryland had been under the protection of a Roman Catholic, and not a Protestant sovereign—say under such a sovereign as Queen Mary of England, or Philip of Spain, or Louis XIV. of France—is it your Eminence's opinion that a policy of toleration would have been adopted? Does your Eminence know of any instance in modern times down to the end of the eighteenth century in which a Roman Catholic Sovereign or a Roman Catholic Government of any kind has encouraged the policy of religious toleration?

Your Eminence said in your sermon that while the Puritans of New England persecuted other Christians, and while the Episcopalians of Virginia persecuted the Puritans, Catholic Maryland gave freedom and hospitality to Puritans and Episcopalians alike. Will you be good enough to tell us (while Catholic Maryland was giving freedom to Puritans and Episcopalians alike) what was "Catholic Spain" doing, and "Catholic France," and "Catholic Italy"? Were they giving freedom

and hospitality to Protestants and the Protestant religion, in the middle of the seventeenth century?

Louis XIV. was then on the throne of France. Was his government practicing religious toleration at this period?

Philip IV. reigned over Spain; did he tolerate Protestant worship in the Spanish peninsula?

Innocent X. sat on the Papal throne; did he give freedom and hospitality to Protestants within the Papal Dominion? We know what his predecessor Urban VIII. did to Galileo; was his administration any more tolerant?

And if Maryland (a "Catholic" colony, in your Eminence's estimation) presents the one exception known to history of the practice of toleration by a Catholic government, is it not clearly traceable to the mixed character of the colony (comprising both Catholics and Protestants), and to the necessity of the situation—colonists of whatever religion being necessary to the growth of the colony?

6. Yet again, may I call your Eminence's attention to the fact that the Charter granted Lord Baltimore by the Protestant King was of such a character that both the worship of the Church of England and that of the Church of Rome must have been tolerated under it? This is strongly set forth in *The Life and Character of Lord Baltimore*, published in 1845 by one of Maryland's most honored and brilliant sons, Hon. John P. Kennedy, who maintains that the policy of toleration was in

the Charter which antedated the Edict of 1649 by fifteen years. And is not this contention justified not only by the language of the Charter, but by the practice of the Colonial Government? I refer to the existence of a Church of England chapel at St. Mary's from the foundation of the colony, and the several recorded instances in which punishment was meted out to Roman Catholics who attempted to interfere with the worship of the chapel.[1]

7. As to the genesis of this famous Edict of 1649, is there not good reason to trace it to the Act of the House of Commons, October 27, 1647, which, in language identical with the Maryland act, decreed that the inhabitants of all American plantations should "have and enjoy the liberty of conscience in the matters of God's worship?" This act was called by Rev. Thos. Harrison, the Puritan pastor at Annapolis, "that golden apple, the ordinance of toleration," and this long before the Edict of 1649.

It is clearly established that Puritan and Protestant influence had great part in bringing about that Edict—much greater, apparently, than the Roman Catholic influence.

Mr. Gladstone's conclusion would seem to be irresistible. "Upon the whole the picture of Maryland legislation is a gratifying one; but the

[1] The tradition is that there was but one chapel, and that this was used alternately by Roman Catholics and "Protestant Catholics," as the Church of England people called themselves.

historic view which assigns the credit of it to the Roman Church has little foundation in fact."

There is a perplexity which many people feel, which I do not ask your Eminence to resolve, but which I cannot refrain from mentioning in conclusion, and that is, how it is consistent with the loyalty of a faithful son of the Roman Church to hold up to the admiration of the world this Maryland Edict of Religious Toleration, in face of repeated declarations of successive Popes on the subject. One of the errors which was condemned in the Syllabus of Pope Pius IX. (which must be regarded by the faithful as infallible and irreformable) was this:

"Every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe to be true, guided by the light of reason."

Another was this: "In the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion of the State, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship."

Carrying out these same principles, the Pope in 1858, as your Eminence may remember, "condemned the then recent Spanish law which tolerated other forms of worship."

And Leo XIII. in his Encyclical "Libertas praestantissimum," June 20, 1888, reaffirms the utterances of Pius IX., condemning severely the "modern liberties" of worship, of speech, and of conscience.

How then can a loyal Roman Catholic hold

up the Maryland Edict of Toleration to honor and emulation without incurring the charge of "Modernism"?

A Rejoinder

To this letter reply was made on behalf of the Cardinal, by one of his subordinates, and to this I made the following rejoinder:

"Before making reply to the critics of my Open Letter to Cardinal Gibbons, I want to remind the public that I am not the aggressor in this controversy. I have the greatest respect for his Eminence the Cardinal—for his age, for his office, for his character, and for his many qualities as a man and a citizen, which command the regard of the American people. But I venerate the truth still more, and when the Cardinal disparages the great Church, of which I am an humble representative (as he did three years ago in commenting on her marriage and divorce legislation, and as he did in London, in the eye of the whole world, in August last), I shall always, I hope, have the courage to meet his challenge and contend for the truth of history as I see it, courteously, but firmly.

Now I take issue with the Cardinal on three points:

1. Lord Baltimore's colony was not a colony of British Catholics, as the Cardinal asserted in his sermon.

2. The Toleration Act of 1649 was not passed by "a General Assembly of Catholics," as the Cardinal asserted, thirty years ago, and as he implied last August.

3. His implication that the Catholics of Maryland were apostles of religious toleration, while the Episcopalians of Virginia were pursuing a policy of intolerance and persecution, is not in accordance with the facts.

1. I take these in their order: First, if Lord Baltimore's colony was a colony of British Catholics, why did he, when the expedition was about to sail from England in 1633, give orders that all acts of the Roman Catholic religion performed on the voyage, should be performed as privately as possible? Again, if it was a colony of British Catholics, why did 128 persons on board take the British oath of allegiance, which no Roman Catholic could take, before the ships sailed? Father Russell says and the Jesuit Father White says the same: "The colonists numbered two hundred," so that it would seem the majority of all the company took the Protestant oath.

I give now some historical authorities on the question: John Fiske (certainly not a Protestant historian), says: "It is generally believed that the majority of the company were Protestants. The leaders were nearly all Catholics." (*Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, i., page 273.) Similar testimonies could be quoted from Bozman, Bancroft, Streeter, Ethan Allen, Neill, Hammond, B. F.

Brown, and other historians. But as historians differ, and as my critics appear to adopt the principle that all writers who support my contention are unreliable (a short and easy method of controversy), I shall give an authority that neither Father Russell nor any other Roman Catholic can question, I refer to the testimony of the Jesuit Father White, one of Lord Baltimore's colonists. Writing officially to the Provincial of his Order in England, and referring to the beginning of the colony, he says: "For in leading the colony to Maryland, by far the greater part were heretics." (See *The Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, seventh series, page 364.)

It is certain, then, that of the colony that sailed for America on the *Ark* and the *Dove*, in 1633, "by far the greater part were heretics," that is Protestants. I go on to affirm, as an historical fact, beyond possibility of contradiction, that if reference be had to the religion of the mass of the people, Maryland never was a Roman Catholic colony. Every one of the five Eastern Shore colonies of Maryland was settled by Protestants, and of the five colonies on the Western Shore of the bay, only two, St. Mary's and Charles, had any Roman Catholic population at all. The first settlement in Maryland (five years before Baltimore's colony) was on Kent Island, and was a Church of England colony. The second, that of St. Mary's, was part Roman Catholic and part Protestant; and so many were the Protestants that in 1641 that same Jesuit

Father White wrote that "three parts of the people at least are heretics." *Id.*, p. 362. The third settlement was that of Ann Arundel, and it, too, was Protestant. A broader study of the history of Maryland may be recommended to my critics.

2. I come now to the Act of Toleration of 1649, and I affirm that it was not passed by "a General Assembly of Catholics," but by a mixed Assembly, the majority of whom appear to have been Protestants. In my letter to the Cardinal I referred to Neill's careful estimate, showing that two-thirds of the Assembly of 1649 were Protestants. His authority is repudiated by my critics. What then are the probabilities. Father Andrew White, writing from the colony in 1641, says "that Mr. Liugar, the Secretary of Lord Baltimore, in whose charge the colony was left during his temporary absence, summoned the Assembly in Maryland, composed, with few exceptions, of heretics." (*Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, seventh series, p. 365.) So, then, in 1641 the Maryland Assembly was composed, with few exceptions, of Protestants.

Observe again, the Maryland Assembly of 1648 addressed a letter to Lord Baltimore, in which they said that the Assembly of 1647 "was composed, two or three only excepted, of Governor Calvert's enemies."

Observe next, that on the sixth of August, 1648, Col. William Stone, a Protestant, was made Governor, and the Council was reorganized, so

that one-half of the members were Protestants. Thus the Protestants were in a majority in the Government in the year 1648, which was the year before the Act of Toleration. Mr. Clayton Coleman Hall, LL.B., in his lectures before the Johns Hopkins University on *The Lords Baltimore*, in the year 1902, says, page 67: "The lower House of Assembly soon became the popular representative body, and the large majority of the freemen were at an early date Protestants."

Next observe that in 1650, the year after the Edict of Toleration, the records show that the Assembly was overwhelmingly Protestant, there being only four Roman Catholics, and *these all objected to the principles of the Act of Toleration*, and one of the three, Thomas Mathews, said he could not take the oath of toleration, as he wished to be guided in matters of conscience by spiritual counsel. (*Annapolis Manuscript.*) These facts as to the composition of the Assembly in 1641, 1648, and 1650 certainly go far to sustain Neill's statement that the majority of the Assembly in 1649 were Protestants.

I hold, therefore, that the Cardinal's statement that the act of 1649 was passed by a General Assembly of Catholics, is unquestionably an historical error. It is true that Maryland "gave freedom and hospitality to Puritans and Episcopalians alike," but it was not Catholic Maryland that did this, but "Maryland, Catholic and Protestant." I may here quote Bancroft who says:

"The thirteen Colonies were all Protestant. Even in Maryland the Roman Catholics formed scarcely an eighth, perhaps not more than a twelfth part of the population."

3. The Cardinal's statement in the Westminster Cathedral to which I took exception implied that the Catholics of Maryland were apostles of religious toleration, while the Episcopalians of Virginia were pursuing a policy of intolerance and persecution.

Now let it be observed that I make no claim that Episcopalians, or other Protestants, had risen in the seventeenth century to the true conception of religious toleration. It was not understood or practiced by any Christians at that period save by Roger Williams and his followers in Rhode Island.

This much-vaunted Maryland Act of Toleration itself ordained first, that any person who denied the divinity of Christ or the doctrine of the Holy Trinity should be punished with death, and all his goods confiscated; second, that whoever should utter reproachful words concerning the Virgin Mary or the Holy Apostles should be fined, or publicly whipped and imprisoned.

Nevertheless, it was a great and honorable advance in the direction of religious toleration, to enact that all persons "professing to believe in Jesus Christ" should enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

But to whom does the credit of this measure belong? Does it belong to the Roman Catholic

Church? I affirm that no one who is acquainted with the history of that Church and with its authoritative declarations of dogma can maintain such a proposition. In confirmation of this it is enough to quote the language of the oath taken by every Bishop of that Church in the United States down to the year 1846. "Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said lord (the Pope), or his successors I will to my utmost persecute and oppose (persequar et impugnabo.") Now, let no one say that I charge our fellow citizens of the Roman Catholic Church with sympathy with this intolerance. Not by any means. But the fact shows that the Church as such, in 1649, could not willingly encourage Religious Toleration. But if not to the Church of Rome, to whom does belong the honor of this Act of Toleration? I answer very largely to Lord Baltimore, the Proprietary; but it must be added, rather as a measure of wise and statesmanlike policy, than from any other motive. He obtained his Charter from Charles I., a Protestant King. That Charter bound him to protect God's Holy Church and "the true Christian religion," and to observe "the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England." Therefore, *Lord Baltimore was bound and compelled to tolerate the worship of the Church of England in his new colony*, and deserves no special credit for yielding to the necessity of so doing.

The Jesuit Father White, already quoted, says: "In a country like this newly planted, and de-

pending wholly upon England, there is not, nor can be, any ecclesiastical discipline established by law—nor the Catholic Religion publicly allowed." (*Records*, seventh series, p. 362.)

Moreover, Lord Baltimore, though a sincere Roman Catholic, was first and above all resolved to build up his colony,—whether by Romanists or Protestants appears to have been immaterial to him. Accordingly, in 1643, he wrote to Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts (who records the fact in his diary), offering "land in Maryland with free liberty of religion, to any of the Massachusetts colonists who would transport themselves there."

Then in 1648, after King Charles had been defeated and taken prisoner:

"Recognizing the necessity under this condition of affairs, of so ordering the government of the Province, if he were to retain possession of it, to refute the charge made by his enemies . . . that it was a hot bed of popery, he appointed William Stone, a Protestant and friend of the Parliament, as Governor . . . and reorganized the Council so that one-half of the members were Protestants—and this on condition that Stone should bring in from Virginia five hundred colonists, who would, of course, be all or nearly all Protestants."

All this plainly shows that it was as a wise statesman and as Lord Proprietor of Maryland, rather than as a Roman Catholic, that Lord Baltimore

adopted the policy of tolerating the religion of Protestants side by side with that of Roman Catholics. Certainly he was a man of great tact and shrewdness, for after being for many years a warm friend of Charles I., he was able on his fall, to secure the favor of Cromwell without delay.

Yet it ought to be said that the Maryland Assembly, which from the first had refused to be dictated to by Lord Baltimore, deserved its share of the meed of praise for the Act of Toleration of 1649,—and that Assembly was predominantly Protestant.

Still, in their case, too, it must be admitted that it was rather state policy than the real adoption of the principles of toleration that governed their action.

In conclusion, two things ought to be borne in mind in reading the history of this period. The first is, that the toleration established in Maryland was primarily, and more and more for the benefit of its Roman Catholic population, who were in a minority, and therefore the more needed protection. The oath prescribed to Governor Stone is an instance of this, for it bound him not to molest any on account of his religion—"in particular no Roman Catholic."

The other thing to be remembered, especially in considering the repeal of the Act of Toleration by the Protestant Government of Maryland, is that the Protestants of the seventeenth century were in mortal dread of the political power of the Church of

Rome. They remembered that Pope Paul the Fourth forbade Elizabeth to ascend the English throne unless she would agree to declare England a gift of the Apostolic See, and that Pope Pius Fifth, eleven years later, issued a Bull against Queen Elizabeth, absolving her subjects from their allegiance. They remembered that "the invincible Armada" had been launched against England with the blessing of the Pope. And they remembered the Gunpowder Plot, which was designed to blow up the King, the Lords, and the Commons, at once. These events begot in the hearts of Englishmen an intense hatred of the Church of Rome, as their most powerful and dangerous foe.

Doubtless the friendly relations between Protestants and Roman Catholics, which exist to-day, in England and the United States, are largely due to the fact that the temporal power of the Pope is a thing of the past.

A Further Reply to Father Russell.

It is quite useless for Father Russell to try to evade the issues in the question between Cardinal Gibbons and myself, as he does in his letter published in *The Post* of October 19th, 1908. These issues, three in number, are succinctly and clearly stated in my letter, which appeared on the same day. They are these:

First, Lord Baltimore's colony was not a colony

of "British Catholics." Second, the Toleration Act of 1649 was not passed by an Assembly of R. Catholics, but by a mixed Assembly. Third, the Roman Catholics of the seventeenth century, neither in Maryland nor elsewhere, had grasped the true conception of religious toleration, any more than had the Protestants of the same period.

I shall not turn aside from these to follow this doughty champion, who has rushed with so much sound and fury into the lists, forgetting in his zeal the amenities that ought to be observed between Christian controversialists. Let him meet those issues, if he can! Let him refute my arguments, if he can! Let him deny the statements of the Jesuit Father White, if he dare!

It is the favorite device of some controversialists, when they are unable to meet the arguments of their antagonists, to seek to divert attention from their defeat by raising questions foreign to the original question at issue. Father Russell challenges me to deny what I have already asserted in my original letter to the Cardinal, and in my article of October 19th, namely, that Lord Baltimore adopted a policy of toleration from the beginning.

Again, he challenges me to deny that the Protestants of Maryland, Virginia, and New England failed to practice true religious toleration—a thing I had plainly and strongly asserted in the same article! Verily a cheap and easy challenge this!

And then he fills a whole column with instances

of Protestant intolerance. If I were minded to follow him, I could fill every page of *The Post* with examples of persecution and cruelty by Roman Catholics in the same period. But I have no wish to reopen such painful pages of history. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants have learned something since the seventeenth century.

Let me say that I make my appeal, not to a jury of newspaper editors, however distinguished, but to the jury of public opinion—to the impartial judgment of all fair-minded men in our community —and I am entirely content to await and abide their verdict in this matter.

Father Russell threatens to retire from the controversy if his preposterous challenge is not accepted. Probably such a course would be wise. It might have been better for him and for his cause if he had not entered the lists at all. Indeed, it may be surmised that his Eminence, the Cardinal, when he takes note of Father Russell's communication, so strong in invective, so weak in logic, so evasive of the real issues involved, will say in his secret soul, "non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis!"

Before closing, I call attention to the following utterance of Father Russell, in which he seeks to convict me of dishonesty. He says:

"I have already shown in *The Post* that Neill himself grudgingly admits that he was in error (*Terra Mariæ*, p. 85). Now, I ask any fair-minded reader if Dr. McKim's course in thus

repeating a self-discredited author's assertion is honest?"

Will it be believed that Neill in the passage referred to does no such thing? Not a trace is to be found of this admission! His *Terra Mariæ*, quoted by our *soidisant* "historian," was published in 1867 (a copy lies before me as I write), but his *Maryland Not a Roman Catholic Colony*, from which I quoted, was not published till 1875, the letters which composed it having been written in 1874.

How could Neill, writing in 1867, admit he was in error in a pamphlet which he did not write till seven years later? That is an achievement that even Father Russell, clever as he may be, could not perform. I do not charge him with dishonesty in bringing such a charge against me, but I do convict him of reckless and inexcusable misstatement.

I have only to add that the first stone in this controversy was thrown not by me, but by his Eminence the Cardinal, from the pulpit of Westminster Cathedral, in London, on a famous occasion in August last, and it was aimed at the Episcopalians of Virginia and the Puritans of New England.

Who Were the Founders of Religious Liberty in Maryland?

Father Russell, after the publication of my last letter, issued a pamphlet with the above title, and

modestly called it "The Conclusion of the Controversy." That a priest of the Roman Church should claim for his Church the honor of founding Religious Liberty in America is almost comical, when one remembers that the Roman Church has been in all ages the outspoken enemy of Religious Liberty, and that the most enlightened of her modern Popes, Leo XIII., as well as Pius X., the present occupant of the Papal chair, was as strenuous an opponent of freedom of worship and of conscience as Hildebrand himself.

Even Cardinal Gibbons who is lauded as the incarnation of toleration and liberality, and as an enthusiastic admirer of our American liberty, dare go no farther than to say that "Religious liberty may be tolerated by a ruler when it would do more harm to the State to repress it."

If Father Russell had succeeded in establishing his thesis that Religious Liberty in Maryland was founded by the Roman Catholic Church, or her representatives, he would have shown that those who achieved this result had subjected themselves to the anathema of the infallible heads of the Church for many generations. But the good Monsignor has quite failed to establish his thesis.

Consider that the colony was composed chiefly of Church of England people and non-conformists with a few Papists. In addition to the proof of this already furnished, note that the First Legislative Assembly of the Colony, 1638, was composed

of ninety members and only twelve of these were Roman Catholics, including the three Jesuits.

Consider that Lord Baltimore's toleration was forced upon him by his very serious financial straits. Such was his poverty that he was dependent on his father-in-law, Lord Arundel for bread for his family. It was imperative that he should attract colonists to his languishing colony.[1] Accordingly he offered free lands to the Puritans in Massachusetts, and to the non-conformists in Virginia, as an inducement to move into Maryland, he offered liberty of conscience. He even agreed to make Stone, a non-conformist minister, Governor of the Colony (see *Founders of Maryland*, Rev. E. D. Neill, 1876, pp. 100, 102, 108, 117). Stone's commission contained a pledge that no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be disturbed in the free exercise of his religion. This was in 1648. Thus the religious toleration of Lord Baltimore was in conformity with Cardinal

[1] Prof. Alfred P. Dennis, Ph.D., of Smith College writes as follows:

Cecilius Calvert had the foresight to perceive that the colony could not be successfully planted without Protestants, but he was wise enough to understand that Protestants would not embark upon the enterprise unless religious freedom should be guaranteed by the proprietary, and that Protestant England, with a Parliament of Puritan temper, would not for an instant tolerate the erection of a distinctly Roman Catholic government within the bounds of her territorial jurisdiction. Toleration of Protestants was all of a piece with the opportunist policy of the proprietary."—"Lord Baltimore's Struggle with the Jesuits." *Report of American Historical Association*, vol. i., pp. 107–24.

Gibbons's principle, that "religious liberty may be tolerated by a ruler when it would do more harm to the state to repress it!"

Take further note of the fact that the famous Act of Toleration, passed April 21, 1649, by a Legislature two-thirds of whom were Protestants, was not confirmed by Lord Baltimore until August 26, 1650.

Observe yet further that when the Assembly met in 1650, the four Roman Catholic members objected to the principles of the Act of Toleration, as contrary to their religion. The historian says: "When the delegates came to be sworn, all the Roman Catholics, four in number, objected to the principles of the Act concerning Religion." (See Neill, p. 122.)

I may add that in this "Land of the Sanctuary" —this home of religious liberty!—the Pope's Bull, "In Cœna Domini," was read every year on the day of the Lord's Supper, or Maundy Thursday, with its excommunications and anathemas against heretics. *Id.*, p. 101.

That religious liberty was established in the Colony of Maryland by Lord Baltimore must be unquestionably denied; for, as already pointed out, the denial of the divinity of Christ, or of the doctrine of the Trinity, was punishable with confiscation and death; and reproachful words concerning the Virgin Mary involved the penalty of fine, public whipping, and imprisonment. Bancroft did indeed express the opinion quoted by Father

Russell[1]; but that was not his final opinion, for in his latest edition, 1888, he omits that statement and testifies that Roger Williams "was the first person in modern Christendom to establish civil government on the doctrine of liberty of conscience" (p. 255).

Religious toleration—the toleration of Protestant opinions—however, *was* put in practice by Lord Baltimore, and for that he deserves high praise, especially as the Jesuits in the colony positively disapproved of it. But there were two things that must qualify our appreciation of the course he pursued: *first*, his charter required him to tolerate the religion of the Church of England, and *second*, the necessities of his colony compelled him to do everything in his power to attract colonists, both from Virginia and Massachusetts.

Father Russell in his pamphlet enumerated twelve or fifteen instances of intolerance by Protestants in the seventeenth century and challenged me to deny them, offering to pay $100 for each case disproved to any charity I might designate.

But why should I deny these statements? If I should grant that every one of them was true, that would not shake any one of my three contentions, for I had already admitted that neither Protestants nor Roman Catholics understood at

[1] Viz., that Lord Baltimore was the first ruler in the history of the Christian world to establish religious liberty as the basis of a state.

that time the principle of religious liberty. I might have claimed his money, if I could descend to such a scheme, on his first proposition, for it did not truly represent Bancroft's mature opinion.

On the other hand, had I followed the Monsignore to this low plane of controversy, I might have with perfect safety offered to pay $1000 to St. Patrick's Church, if he could successfully controvert any one of the subjoined statements:

1. Pope Pius IX. in the famous Syllabus of December 8, 1864, condemned the following proposition,

"Every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he believes true, guided by the light of reason."

2. The same Pope, at the same time, pronounced *Anathema* on the following:

"It has been wisely provided by law, in some countries called Catholic, that persons coming to reside therein shall enjoy the public exercise of their own worship."

3. Pope Leo XIII. in his Encyclical on "Human Liberty," June 20, 1888, said: "It is nowise permitted to demand, defend, or grant liberty of thought or of the press, of teaching or of religion."

4. Pope Pius X. addressed to the monk Lepicier, author of *De Stabilitate et Progressu Dogmatis*, a commendatory letter which says: "By this work you have given great gratification to the Sovereign Pontiff." Now this book declares, p. 194, that public heretics deserve not merely to

be excommunicated but to be killed (*sed etiam dignos esse qui per mortem e vivis auferantur*),—that the Church tolerates heretics now because it is not prudent to kill them (p. 208–209),—and finally that the Pope has the power to depose secular rulers who abandon Catholicism, and to absolve the subjects of such rulers from their allegiance (p. 210).

Until Monsignor Russell shall disprove these four propositions of mine "the conclusion of the controversy" remains unmistakably against him.

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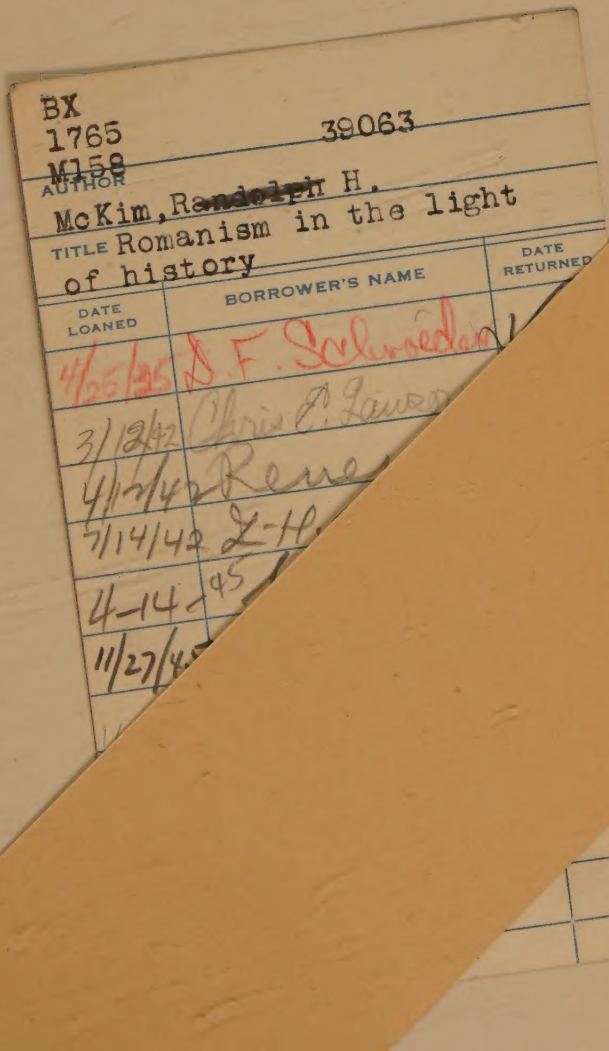
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